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ABSTRACT

This study is the first in a series of evaluation reports on the developmental stages of Teacher Corps programs. It focuses on program planning and initial implementation activities in relation to two components required by the Teacher Corps in the inservice programs: multicultural education and collaboration among various educational institutions. An ethnographic case study method was used to collect data in four low-income school sites. Analysis of the collected data focused on forces that facilitated or impeded project implementation and on processes of collaborative planning and multicultural education program development. The introduction to this volume supplies background information on the Teacher Corps. A section on the study design and methodology deals with ethnography and the techniques used in data collection and organization. In the third section, characteristics of each of the four study sites are compared and analyzed in relation to multicultural education. The conclusions reached on Teacher Corps collaboration, discussed in Section IV, concerned the use of community councils, policy boards, and planning groups. Section V, general conclusions and recommendations, involved: (1) creating locally based commitments to multicultural education; (2) increasing Teacher Corps Washington leadership in multicultural education; (3) using team leaders and interns as inhouse multicultural resources; (4) more intellectual leadership from project leaders; and (5) integration of multicultural education throughout program components. Appendices presented examples of a topical index, protocol, analysis and interpretation, and a cross-site index file card used in the study. (FG)

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TEACHER CORPS: An Implementation Study of Collaboration and Multicultural Education

Volume I

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Final Report — Special Study I

August 1980

Prepared by:

James L. Deslonde, Program Manager, Sociology of Education

With Assistance from:

Christine R. Finnan, Educational Researcher

Richard A. Marciano, Project Director
James L. Deslonde, Study Director, Implementation Study I
C. David Beers, Assistant Study Director

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Education and Human Services Research Center
SRI International
333 Ravenswood Avenue
Menlo Park, California 94025
(415) 326-6200

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I INTRODUCTION

Background

In 1980, Teacher Corps began its fifteenth year of funding educational programs addressed to problems of teaching in low-income schools. The Teacher Corps legislation of 1965 was a local adaptation of the original Peace Corps initiative. In this sense, the underlying spirit of Teacher Corps is to focus the cognitive, cultural, and educational advantages on those who have been discriminated against and economically deprived.

The central idea of Teacher Corps throughout its 15-year history has been the dual aim of attracting a talented cadre of young college graduates (especially those from minority groups) to the teaching profession and of encouraging colleges and public schools to work together to provide these graduates with a practical, field-based teacher training in the kinds of school settings in which they may finally work. Teacher Corps, however, has never viewed these goals as fixed. Teacher Corps has evolved and changed over its history, shifting its emphasis as teaching conditions changed and as new people were attracted to the teaching profession.

In the early years of Teacher Corps, understandably, the emphasis was to develop local projects that would attract new teachers to low-income schools. The intern component of Teacher Corps was, at that time, the heart of the Teacher Corps efforts. In the 1970s, however, as school populations began to shrink, the emphasis shifted to providing in service education to teachers already working in low-income schools. The intern component was reduced and Teacher Corps became increasingly concerned with the training of all school personnel, not just teachers. The revised legislation also broadened Teacher Corps' scope by adding four major outcomes generating a large scope of activities related to inservice teacher education. Under the new mandate local projects beginning in 1978* have been provided with:

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* In 1978 there were 82 projects; in 1979, 40 projects.

- More money--Projects each receive approximately $1.2 million compared with the $0.25 million they received in previous years.
- More time--Programs are now given 5 years, including a year for planning, compared with the 2-year total allotted them previously.
- More schools--Projects are housed in a feeder school system instead of being a one-school project as they were in the past.
- More training responsibilities--Projects are now charged to train all school personnel, not just teachers.

There have also been more changes added to the internal content of the program. For example, there is now an emphasis on encouraging and strengthening the collaborative aspect of the local project, i.e., expanding the participatory base of the program to include community persons, faculty members from institutions of higher education (IHE), superintendents and other administrators, and supervisors from the local educational agency (LEA) as well as teachers. The 1978 projects also placed considerable emphasis on implementing program components that reflect multicultural education.

The four major outcomes mandated for programs beginning in 1978 are the following:*

(1) An improved school climate that fosters learning in children from low-income families.

(2) An improved educational personnel development system for persons who serve or who are preparing to serve in schools for children of low-income families.

(3) The continuation of educational improvements (including products, processes, and practices) made as a result of the project, after federal funding ends.

(4) The adoption or adaptation of those educational improvements by other educational agencies and institutions.

In addition to these four basic outcomes, each project is mandated to develop multicultural education components under each of the four main objectives. In adapting these mandates, each local project is free to specify a series of program objectives of its own. Thus, the projects

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* Federal Register, Vol. 43, No. 37. Thursday, February 23, 1978: "Teacher Corps Project Development and Operations: Rules and Regulations." Throughout this report any references made to sections from the Rules and Regulations will come from this particular issue of the Federal Register.

as a group exhibit a wide variety of approaches to the four outcomes because each project adapts them to the local conditions and particular needs of the districts and colleges receiving the Teacher Corps grants.

The SRI Evaluation Study and Implementation Study I

The SRI evaluation study of Teacher Corps is an effort to investigate thoroughly the entire range of dynamics that occur as Teacher Corps grantees implement each phase of these new, 5-year cycle programs. The larger SRI study is a series of interrelated substudies concerned with some aspect of the four mandated outcomes. The other SRI studies on institutionalization of Teacher Corps practices, teacher training, dissemination of professional development models and a longer 3 year study of implementation and impact of Teacher Corps are currently underway. The study reported here, Implementation Study I, is the first in this series to be completed. It was conducted during an 18-month period and mainly focuses on the various activities associated with planning a Teacher Corps program at the local level. However, because the field investigation portion of this study spanned the planning year and the first few months of the operational year, the study is also concerned with investigating how the products of planning are initially implemented. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship of Implementation Study I to the various phases of local Teacher Corps projects.

Several studies of implementation have been generated from other large-scale evaluations of federal programs; the SRI Follow-Through studies seemed most promising for our purposes, and we used the topics listed below as a basis for organizing our early observations. They also guided our initial entrance into the projects that were chosen as case studies sites. The Follow-Through studies extracted general principles, models, and policy issues of implementation. In particular, the 1976 Beers' study of Follow-Through projects discussed five descriptive features of implementation that were identified by participants as being important to the analysis of implementation processes:

- Program variation across sites permits the observer to "discern general rules or principles of implementation that hold across diverse educational philosophies, practices, and local circumstances" (p. 4). This would also be consistent with the Rand findings (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975) that local characteristics and needs are most influential in the process of sustaining change.

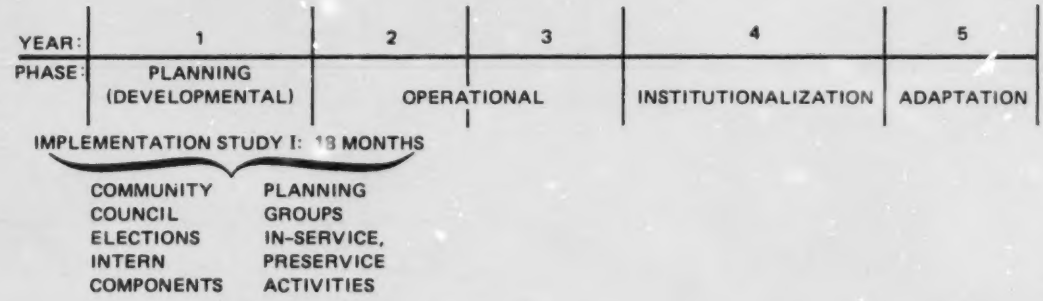

FIGURE 1 TEACHER CORPS PROGRAM (5-YEAR PROJECT) AND IMPLEMENTATION STUDY I

- Parent participation brings the home environment under greater influence of the school and the community.
- Joint sponsorship of Teacher Corps by universities, school districts and communities reduces the negative impact of complexity often associated with innovation in the schools.
- Management flexibility permits a trial-and-error modification and process that helps strengthen the innovation.
- Trust and cooperation is an important facilitating feature of implementation.

The SRI Implementation Study I staff relied heavily on these features to guide its early data collection and organizational efforts. However, during the course of the first year, we modified our focus in some of these areas. These modifications occurred subtly and reflected the changes and redirections that the projects underwent. As is often the case when one is talking about subtle changes, it is perhaps easier to see how these modifications evolved by studying the case histories we present in Volume II. As noted in Figure 1, our schedule also allowed us time to observe how the project staffs implemented what they had planned. Thus, our visits on the projects centered around major events that occurred during the implementation stage, e.g., community council elections, policy board meetings, or workshops.

Purpose of Implementation Study

Specifically, the study was designed to conduct an in-depth field investigation of two implementation mandated components of Teacher Corps--multicultural education and collaboration--in the context of planning and operating teacher education programs in low-income schools. Of foremost importance to the study was developing an initial conceptualization of multicultural education and collaboration that would focus our early data collection efforts.

Multicultural Education: Values, Process, and Content

The core challenge of multicultural education can be drawn from a statement on education and culture by anthropologist Joan Roberts (1976):

> . . . children are evaluated not on an intellectual basis, but on a behavioral one. Those in control (in schools) appear more fearful of uncontrolled emotion than concerned with disciplined

> intellect. Cultural continuity depends on the full incorporation of whole human beings from each new generation. When institutional forms take precedence over individual enculturation, learning is excluded. Within pluralistic cultures, those excluded from learning are frequently members of a subcultural group whose way of life is viewed as aberrant. The abysmal lack of knowledge about the cultures of children can only exaggerate enculturative problems (Roberts, 1976, p. 12).

Multicultural education, then, encompasses any effort to remove cultural and social class barriers to learning. Given that the groups most affected by these barriers are ethnic minority groups, multicultural education is closely linked to the promise of equal educational opportunities. The ethical value of multicultural education has been described in many publications; Grant (1977) offers operational guides for multicultural education:

> Multicultural education values the concepts implied by cultural pluralism, multilingualism, cross-cultural studies, intercultural studies, and intergroup and human relations, and includes the following features: (1) staffing patterns throughout institutional and organizational hierarchies that reflect the pluralistic nature of American society; (2) curricula that are appropriate, flexible, unbiased, and that incorporate the contributions of all cultural and racial groups; (3) affirmation of the languages of cultural groups as different rather than deficient; (4) instructional materials that are free of bias, omissions and stereotypes, that are inclusive rather than supplementary, and that show individuals from different cultural and racial groups portraying the full range of occupational and social roles (pp. 28-29).

Implicit in Grant's writings and many other discussions is the need for reeducation and "changing any of our cultural beliefs and values that are not consistent with the goals of a pluralistic nation . . ." (p. 29).

There is substantial agreement as to the components of this process of reeducation. Deslonde (1977), Gay (1976), Banks (1973) all describe various "stages" of the process. Grant's succinct statement is representative:

> In order to fulfill these . . . expectations, a three-phase process for changing attitudes and beliefs with regard to cultural pluralism can be applied through Teacher Education--both preservice and in-service. The three phases of this process may be outlined as follows: (1) awareness and recognition, (2) appreciation and acceptance, and (3) affirmation.

These and other writings were the concepts of multicultural education that functioned as a benchmark for our observations in the field. A "good" multicultural education program would contain all or some of the elements of reeducation for pluralism. It would involve participants working toward restructuring the curricula, changing attitudes, developing instructional materials, and providing cultural experiences for students so that diversity would be viewed as an enhancement to the school-human experience. In essence, this portion of our study examines the difficult process of how practitioners make these multicultural education concepts operational through the implementation of local Teacher Corps projects.

Barriers to Implementing Multicultural Education

Roberts implies that knowledge of another person's culture will eradicate the problem of cultural barriers to learning. There is, however, some disagreement that the impact of cross-cultural knowledge can eradicate long-standing cultural barriers. There is both widespread agreement among educators and other social scientists as to what constitutes a cultural context problem and widespread disagreement over what constitutes an appropriate solution strategy. As Deslonde (1977) notes, this lack of agreement in multicultural programs can sometimes greatly affect implementation.

In some instances proponents of multicultural education clearly take an advocacy stance. That is, the author projects a value position, often with political implications, and then builds a rationale that incorporates multicultural education. For example, the following quote appeared in a recent Teacher Corps publication:

> There are many who advocate integration for others in remote places but not when they themselves are affected. Parents who send their own children to private schools must be sensitive about advocating integration in the South Boston public schools. . . .our goal here is to help build a basis for a constructive study of issues that should not be avoided or swept under the rug in a pluralistic society (Gold, 1977, p. 22).

These advocacy approaches do not result in multicultural content, but they do "raise the issues" or "sensitize" the reader. These discussions raise all the value conflicts, but offer only one solution, multicultural

education. This conflict approach frequently attempts to garner a "commitment" from the reader to a set of egalitarian values that may sometimes result in basic conflict with some aspects of the reader's own value system. This basic conflict can be a great hindrance in implementing multicultural education programs.

Even when advocates of multicultural education obtain a commitment from their audience, they are often unable to carry the people beyond the sensitization stage. Many people are excited by the charge to bring multicultural education into the classrooms but are left without guides for doing so. Administrators look for ways to inculcate teachers with ideas for multicultural education, and teachers look for adequate curricula to help them provide multicultural education. Too often, the advocates are not available at this level of implementation.

The implementation of multicultural education may also be hampered by certain organizational features of schools. In explaining how this occurs, Trujillo (1975) quotes a Teacher Corps project director:

> The concept behind Teacher Corps is laudatory and valid as it relates to multiculturalism, but in practice or application, the theory falls short of its mark. This happens not because of an inherent weakness but because it is placed against an educational system that, because of its political design and not because of its theory, has a different mission (p. 125).

This assertion, that some organizational features of schools seem to exert a strong negative influence on cultural democracy, is quite prevalent in most of the studies of school and culture. Roberts concludes that "another paradox of cultural continuity in a complex culture such as that of the United States' is the tendency for the school organization to conceal rather than reveal the realities of the broader culture" (p. 11).

Cross-cultural conflict, inherent in any pluralistic society, also serves as a barrier to genuine programmatic efforts to implement multicultural education. When the multicultural tasks involve more than one ethnic group or interest group, the politics of multicultural education can often be intensified by the differing interests of individuals or groups who sometimes see multicultural education as an extension of their own goals. For instance, it appears that several local Teacher Corps projects in the

past have centered some of their multicultural activities around affirmative action goals. Several sites have emphasized efforts at helping Native Americans gain entry into the teaching professions (Thompson, 1975). Other Teacher Corps participants disagree: "The role of multiculturalism in education does not culminate with the recruitment of teachers of different ethnic heritages . . . multiculturalism extends beyond the color of our faces (Young, 1975, p. 127). In this vein, others may openly agree with Sizemore's (1974, p. 95) essentially political view of cultural pluralism and schools: "The question is not 'Will there be unemployment, but who will be unemployed?' The problem for A is how to keep B in a powerless position." The issues of power and its uses are essential to any field study of implementing multicultural education.

A final factor that seems to hamper multicultural education efforts is the unintended obstacles often set up by the very people who are responsible for implementing the programs. Deslonde (1973, 1977, and 1978) describes how various forms of resistance can unconsciously be employed by teachers faced with planning and implementing multicultural school programs. Some writers have concluded that this resistance is "discrimination with and without prejudice" (Rosenfeld, 1976). In the context of a local Teacher Crops project, the Teacher Corps staff can often be faced with a variety of diversionary tactics employed by teachers, university faculty, and others in the Teacher Corps target groups.

Study Themes of Multicultural Education

In addition to the broad implementation themes we also developed study questions more specific to Multicultural Education. These questions focus on six multicultural areas which guided our initial field data collection efforts. Although revised and rethought, these themes were still predominant throughout the study.

- Advocacy issues:
  - Which values are being promulgated about cultural pluralism in the context of schooling?
  - Who promotes which values, and how are they acted out in the milieu of the local projects being studied?
  - What are the values of multicultural education promoted by Teacher Corps on a national level?

- How are these values related to local efforts at implementation?

- Cross-cultural conflict:
  - In the context of schools and the local communities, how is the conflict handled by Teacher Corps program staff members?
  - How does it hinder or encourage the programmatic goals of the project?
  - How do teachers react to it and how is it taught to students?
  - How are these values related to local efforts at implementation?
- Cross-cultural knowledge:
  - How is it promulgated by the schools and the local Teacher Corps programs?
  - How is it reflected in the instructional efforts of the schools?
- Culturally conflicting organizational features:
  - What are the conflicting features that directly bear upon multicultural education and Teacher Corps implementation efforts?
  - How are these features viewed by the various actors?
  - How does Teacher Corps influence these structural and organizational features?
- Inhibiting teacher behavior (and attitudes):
  - How are the Teacher Corps efforts affecting the attitude of teachers and other adults regarding cultural pluralism and schools?
  - What are the interrelated behaviors and attitudes of other principal actors in the Teacher Corps settings?
  - How does this dynamic intersect with Teacher Corps efforts of planning and implementing multicultural education?
- Political, sociocultural conflict:
  - What are the conflicting goals of the local program participants?
  - How are these acted out and resolved in the context of Teacher Corps multicultural education efforts?

In addition to these major themes, the study initially attempted to document thoroughly any Teacher Corps efforts, activities, or products that were aimed at developing a multicultural teaching content based on cultural pluralism; any information on how content was developed and taught in the Teacher Corps schools; and any Teacher Corps efforts that helped provide culturally enriching experiences for the target school population.

Collaboration: Planning for Change

Many evaluations of federal programs have shown that collaboration between different institutions is difficult to promote. For example, Deslonde (1973) discusses how a recent effort to promote the development of a field-based teacher education program requiring collaboration between the local institution of higher education (IHE) and the local educational agency (LEA) failed because of the teachers' long-standing distrust of the "ivory tower," the constant struggle for control over preservice training, and the lack of previously successful collaboration. In another study on collaborative efforts among a county educational agency, an IHE, and several LEAs (Deslonde, 1974), the lack of a strong commitment to collaboration by any of the organizations led to a dissolution and disappearance of the teacher training program as soon as outside funding was halted. Evaluations of other types of federal programs that cultivate community participation often have resulted in the same conclusions reflected in studies of IHE/LEA collaboration.

The Rand (1976) studies emphasized that the local conditions and characteristics were the most important factors affecting the success of any federal program innovation: "The guidelines and management strategies of the federal change agent programs were simply overshadowed by local concerns and characteristics" (p. 6). While Teacher Corps guidelines are rather explicit in describing the purposes of the Teacher Corps legislation, each local project is held accountable for setting up the structures for collaboration (i.e., planning groups, community councils, and policy boards), and considerable latitude and flexibility are allowed the local Teacher Corps project staff for adapting the collaboration mechanisms to local needs and characteristics.

In addition to the social distance between Teacher Corps role groups, Hite and Drummond (1975) found additional factors that are essential to successful collaboration. Administrators must value interorganizational collaboration; intra- and inter-organizational communication mechanisms must be established; the organizations and institutions must consider themselves competent in the task; resources for learning new roles must be present; the goals must be clear; and the short-range benefits must be obvious.

The mandate of Teacher Corps regulations to develop community advisory groups and highly structured policy boards to plan and implement program activities raises at least the possibility of several other dynamics that affect collaboration. Power struggles are always a threat to successful collaboration. Politicization of the collaborative process, i.e., using Teacher Corps as a platform to pursue personal rather than collective goals, could easily result from the purposely vague program outcomes. Beers (1976), in studying this aspect of the Follow-Through projects, cites power struggle as inimical to a successful collaboration effort. The Teacher Corps requirement for establishing community councils, policy boards, and various planning groups imposes a high degree of complexity on the local project. This, in turn, calls for highly organized management approaches to implementation. Such program complexity and multigroup activities often demand that all the actors involved clearly understand the purposes of the collaborative venture.

The guides for our study of collaboration, then, include the following:

- Past history of collaboration:
  - How did previous Teacher Corps programs or other programmatic efforts requiring collaborative approaches between the IHE and the LEA work?
- Financial conditions:
  - What is the role and probable impact of federal dollars for longer range collaboration (beyond the planning year)?
- Parity and power struggles:
  - How do the local projects attempt to define parity and make it operational in the collaborative process?
- Administrative support:
  - What is the level of support and commitment to collaboration by the administrators in the LEA and IHE?
  - How is such support generated and nurtured in the local projects?
- Communication mechanisms (and complexity of management):
  - How does the collaborative structure contribute to the IHE's and LEA's capacity to develop successful communication and management strategies for complex organizational components?

- Competence evaluation:
  - How do the participants view themselves as successful collaborators?
  - To what extent does Teacher Corps contribute to this?
- Adjustments to new roles:
  - How do participants with little collaborative experience adjust to the new demands and behaviors often associated with extensive, collaborative modes of program implementation?
- Clarity of goals:
  - How do participants understand their roles and the mandates of Teacher Corps?

Thus, another purpose of this study is to investigate how local characteristics and needs of the projects intersect with the basic intent of the Teacher Corps collaboration mandate. As with the multicultural component of the study, we also attempt to establish a benchmark from which to measure the variation in collaboration we expected to find.

These sets of questions about multicultural education and collaboration were used to guide the data collection and analyses; however, we did not use these in a hypothesis-testing mode. Because of the particular methodology we chose (Chapter II), we wanted these conceptualizations to direct the organization of our field study notes; most important, we wanted the dynamics of these aspects of implementation to emerge from our data.

Organization of the Report

Volume I of this study is composed of summary statements and an analysis of data collected in four intensive case studies. The analysis focuses on the forces that facilitate or impede project implementation, and pays special attention to the processes of collaborative planning and multicultural education program development.

The intent of the analysis in Volume I is to extract cross-site dynamics that

- Identify program factors that might lead to the improvement of future activities in the local projects.
- Extract summary statements and recommendations that might be helpful in modifying and improving the national effort of Teacher Corps.

Volume II contains the narrative case studies. These narratives are written from field study notes collected during the 14 months we observed and informally interviewed the program participants. The prime intent of Volume II is to capture the evolutionary dynamics of each site. The case studies in this context should provide a vivid, stimulating, and vicarious experience for the reader. Volume II gives the reader a firsthand look at how every aspect of the local project was planned and implemented.

We suggest that the reader might want to read parts of Volume II first. This would give a richer contextual background to the analysis presented in Volume I. The report is also organized so that each section of Volume I and Volume II can be read independently, according to the wishes of the reader.

The names of all people and places are fictitious; they are substitutes for real people and places. The use of pseudonyms is common in ethnographic reporting to protect the identity of the participants.

Advantages and Limitations of the Study

No data collection technique is flawless; ethnographic methods are no exception, as we discuss in the next chapter. In this study we made every possible effort to eliminate bias and inaccuracy in data collection; we have also subjected this report to the scrutiny of many people. This review process helped us identify passages that might have reflected our personal judgments, values, or biases. However, we are aware that our process does not produce a document completely free of the ethnographer's interpretations.

An advantage of this study was the effort to represent the views of the participants. We tried to let the participants talk whenever feasible and possible. We have, to a great extent, been true to the ethnographic approach of field data collection. This permits the reader to experience firsthand the realities of participating in a Teacher Corps project.

II STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The case study method chosen to conduct this study is based on ethnographic data collection techniques. Both the case study method and ethnography allow great flexibility in adapting evaluation to a particular field phenomenon. Large-scale evaluation such as this SRI Teacher Corps study presented several constraints. For example, full-time ethnographers living on site are prohibitive financially, and while full-time ethnographic data collection procedures result in voluminous data, some of the data may not be particularly useful for the study of a federally funded program. Also, the policy nature of the study dictated that the data be somewhat focused and structured. Last, we needed to study cultural and social events but in the context of a highly specified federal program. These constraints dictated certain choices in the design and method of our study; thus, our design and methodology reflect an approach that is meant to be financially feasible, to produce a manageable data bank with findings useful for policy purposes, and to capture program dynamics over a select period of time.

Ethnography

Ethnography has become a popular method in educational research, but too often the researcher does not clearly describe what constitutes an ethnographic method or why ethnographic methods were selected. They are usually described as descriptive and qualitative. This is accurate, but too limited. Traditional ethnographic research differs from other methodologies in several ways:

- Hypotheses derive from observations in the field, not a priori theorizing.
- Research instruments are field-based.
- Ethnography necessitates direct, on-site observations over time (often this means direct involvement in the participants' activities).
- Ethnography is guided by a basic concern with culture.
- Ethnography is holistic (Spindler, in press; Wilcox, in press).

Ethnographic research involves several stages of hypothesis formation and refinement. Anthropological ethnographies begin with very rudimentary hypotheses. These hypotheses may be no more than the recognition that a problem exists. This does not mean that the ethnographer stumbles upon a research site with a mind like a blank slate. Because anthropological ethnography is guided by a basic concern with culture, or with the knowledge people use to interpret and generate social behavior (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972), this concept of culture prevents researchers from forming a priori hypotheses, delineating clear research plans, and finely tuning their research instruments before immersing themselves in the field site. Otherwise, they would not be able to capture the cultural knowledge shared by those they are studying (Spindler, in press).

Ethnographers try to learn to see the world through the eyes of their informants. Researchers enter study sites with an interpretation of reality; but it is the ethnographer's task to shelve his or her interpretation of reality as much as possible and to learn a different interpretation of it. Ogbu (1974) writes:

> . . . the behavior of any group of people in schools, churches, or political rallies is not governed by an "objective reality out there" but by the "reality" they experience and interpret. Most studies . . . document the middle class interpretation of the universe of these people. Although the theories that emerge . . . may be self-consistent . . . they need not represent accurately the "realities" they attempt to explain or describe (p. 16).

We chose ethnographic methods for this study because ethnography is superior to other research methods in tapping the complex context surrounding the process of program implementation. In other words, ethnography is sensitive to both context and process.

Ethnography, however, is relatively new as an evaluation tool, especially in large-scale contract research contexts. There are several well-documented, large-scale ethnographic studies of educational programs behind us; the Abt study of Experimental Schools (Harriot and Gross, 1979); the NIE-funded study of desegregated schools (Cassell, 1978); and Far West Laboratory's beginning teacher education study (Tikunoff, Berliner and Rist, 1975) are examples. These studies were successful, but they also

raised questions regarding the applicability of ethnographic methods to this kind of research. The problems they encountered included the prohibitive expense of supporting professionals in the field for extended lengths of time; difficulty in reducing large volumes of field notes; logistic difficulties in engaging researchers in the field while keeping them abreast of the evaluation as a whole; ethical problems of confidentiality; conflicting local, and evaluation goals; and difficulty in merging qualitative and quantitative components of the research (Knapp, 1978; Cassell, 1978; Tikunoff and Ward, 1977).

This study was designed to avoid some of the problems plaguing previous research efforts while retaining qualities unique to ethnography. For example, we reached a compromise on the length of time we would spend on site. Researchers visited the site 1 week each month for a full calendar year. The data collectors were able to capture longitudinal changes in the project, gain intimate rapport with participants, and capture participants' "construction of reality" without living with the project. This decision condensed the amount of data collected, helped keep data collectors in touch with the total evaluation, and reduced expenses considerably. Results of this study were not molded to an analysis plan devised for quantitative data. Because the study preceded the major evaluation effort, it was free to develop in its own direction.

In an attempt to meet all five criteria for good ethnography, this study made several modifications demanded by the contract research approach:

- Hypotheses were rudimentary when data collection began and had to be changed and adapted as data collectors became more acclimated to the project.
- The research instruments were field-based: the data collectors themselves acted as the instruments.
- Data were collected on site and over a period of 1 year.
- Relying on a broad definition of culture, the researchers sought to understand how participants made sense of the Teacher Corps project and their role in the project.
- The study was holistic in the sense that it attempted to capture all aspects of the project and to see how the context of the project influenced collaboration and multicultural education.

Study Design

Five tasks had to be accomplished before data collection could begin. Study sites had to be selected, a system for data collection was devised, organizational and data-retrieval methods were designed, preliminary study questions were developed, and field data collectors were trained. These tasks were performed during the first 3 months of the 18-month study period; data collectors began visiting sites during the fall of 1978.

Selection of Study Sites

The study sample of four sites was drawn from the pool of 82 1978-funded Teacher Corps projects. The 82 sites were grouped according to four criteria:

- An urban site.
- A rural site.
- A bilingual site.
- A multicultural site (LEA schools with populations of three or more ethnic groups).

These then were evaluated on their:

- Past history of IHE/LEA involvement in Teacher Corps.
- Understanding of the Teacher Corps mandate, with special attention paid to their treatment of multicultural education, collaboration, and field-based education as discussed in their funded proposals.
- Management plan for collaborative planning and past history of collaborative efforts by the LEA and IHE.
- Geographic location (limited to the continental United States).
- Overall quality of the funded proposal and likelihood of its success.

Twenty sites were selected as potential study sites. They were visited by SRI staff members to determine the fit between the proposal and the actual program, travel logistics, and the project's willingness to be included in the study.

In the final selection process, eight sites that fulfilled these criteria were selected. Of the eight sites, two were urban, two rural, two bilingual, and two multicultural. All eight projects had well-developed

statements on multicultural education, collaboration and field-based teacher education, and strong management plans. They differed in terms of geographical location and amount of previous experience with Teacher Corps. Four sites were chosen as primary data collection sites, and two were visited periodically so that they could function as back-up sites in case unanticipated disruptive events occurred in the primary ones. Table 1 is a skeletal description of the study sites. The primary sites that were chosen were from diverse geographical areas and therefore most of the major sections of the United States were represented. The project director in each site expressed enthusiasm about being included in the study, and travel to the site did not present logistical problems for the SRI study team.

Data Collection, Organization, and Retrieval Systems

As the study sites were being selected, a system for data collection, organization, and retrieval was developed.

Data Collection

Data were collected from a number of sources: informal interviews, instructional observations, written materials produced by the project, miscellaneous contextual information such as newspaper clippings of events influencing the Teacher Corps projects, and attendance at various meetings in the projects.

All interviews and observations were recorded in detail in writing. Tape recorders were not used. Written field notes were more appropriate than tape recordings because data were collected primarily through informal channels of conversation, unstructured interviews, and observation. Also, we felt that tape recorders often lend an air of formality to social interactions, and tape transcriptions are very expensive. Notes were recorded in front of respondents whenever possible. When notetaking was impossible (e.g., during meals, informal social events), notes were recreated from memory. These written notes constituted the raw data of the study.

Each evening the data collector recorded the day's events onto a cassette tape. Elaborating on the written notes, the tapes became the primary data source. While recording, the data collector kept a topical index of the location of data on the tapes. The tape count on the tape

Table 1

SIX SITES CHOSEN FOR TEACHER CORPS IMPLEMENTATION STUDY I

Types of Study Sites	Location	Past Participation in Teacher Corps	School Population
Rural (1)	Southern United States	LEA - Yes	Predominantly Black
Urban (2)*	Southern United States - primary Northeastern United States - backup	LEA - Yes IHE - No	Predominantly Black
Bilingual (2)*	Southwestern United States - primary and backup	LEA - No IHE - No	Mexican American/White
Multicultural (1)	Northeastern United States	LEA - Yes IHE - Yes	Black/White

*One site chosen as the primary site and one additional site as a backup location.

recorder was used for this purpose. (See Appendix A for an example of a topical index.)

Data Retrieval and Organization

The topical index simplified data retrieval. The index allowed for quick access to raw data on the tapes, and eliminated the necessity of transcribing the tapes of raw field notes.

Following each visit, data collectors organized the raw field notes into a field report. The field report was a written record of the events, routines, statements, and opinions seen and heard during the site visit. It also contained physical descriptions of the sites and of the participants in the projects. To assure anonymity, the names of sites, schools, and participants were changed in the field reports. The study director read and edited each field report before final typing. The final typed report then became a protocol, later used for final write-up of the case study. These protocols can be seen as mini-case studies of one visit (see Appendix B).

Either before or shortly after writing field reports, the case study staff (all field data collectors) met for a debriefing session. These sessions accomplished the following:

- Standardized focus in field report writing
- Refined the original study questions
- Developed hypotheses and identified policy issues
- Provided a general analysis and interpretation of findings
- Gave directions for future inquiry and the next site visit.

Following the debriefing session, each data collector wrote an interpretation and analysis of the data recorded in the field reports (see Appendix C). Every effort was made to eliminate judgments and interpretations from the field reports and to isolate them in the analysis and interpretation section. The analysis section was invaluable for tracking policy issues and for identifying future research questions for all sites.

Each visit was considered complete when the data collector had compiled the following:

- Raw field notes.
- Cassette tape of raw data.
- Topical index of raw data.
- Field report and analysis and interpretation section.
- Written materials collected during the visit.
- Copies of written correspondence with the site and telephone interviews.

Once data collection was complete, the study director developed a cross-site data analysis system that identified key topics (e.g., multicultural education, in-service training, interns, policy board) and developed subtopics. A topical card file was set up and data from the field notes were pasted on cards, filed under the key topics, and indexed to subtopics. (See Appendix D for examples of the cards.) The topical card file made data from the four sites accessible for final report writing.

Training Field Data Collectors

The staff of field data collectors were experienced data collectors drawn from the SRI professional pool. Informal training began with the study director, an experienced ethnographer, holding orientation sessions to discuss the methodology to review relevant and related research and to discuss the written proposals being reviewed for sample selection. During the second month of the study a one-week formal training session in ethnographic methods was conducted at SRI.* The formal training served two purposes. First, it offered intensive training to data collectors unfamiliar with ethnographic methods. Second, it standardized certain data collection procedures, such as note taking, informal interviewing, probing, note recording, field report write-up, hypothesis generation, and early identification of policy themes. Each staff member pretested the methodology in nearby schools during the week of formal training. Efforts to increase data collectors' understanding of ethnographic methods continued throughout the course of data collection. Team members read books and

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* Training was conducted by Dr. Ray Rist, Cornell University.

articles on ethnography and remained in close contact with SRI staff experienced in ethnographic research. Each field data collector during the initial, introductory visit was accompanied to the site by the study director as further assurance that the methodology was being carried out as planned.

Reporting the Findings

Although the data bank was reduced by using the field report and cassette tapes, we were still presented with the problem of describing each site in enough detail that the reader could vicariously experience the same dynamics as the local project participants. The narrative case studies in Volume II represent the fruits of this effort. These case studies are arranged by major events, i.e., community council elections, planning groups, workshops, policy board meetings, and the development of the intern component.

Throughout the writing of the narrative case studies in addition to the debriefings, the staff collectively identified the major cross-site findings that could both generate insights for improving the local effort and provide the basis for policy at the national level. The cross-site analysis is based on visits to six site studies (four primary and two back-up). Despite the limitations of the case study approach, we still feel that our data and findings are sufficiently comprehensive so that program improvement statements and policy issues can be offered to readers of the report. In this context readers must keep in mind that the program and policy statements reflect all of the limitations of case study data. On the other hand, our data are rich in contextual detail: the data provide insight for understanding the basic dynamics involved in superimposing a program (geared for reform) upon an organizational structure that is basically resistant to short-range reform efforts. The full impact of a 5-year effort can only be gleaned from the other SRI studies.

III MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Historical Context

Multicultural education grows out of a history of concern with the impact of culture on children's performance in school. Education programs addressing the influence of cultural difference have come and gone, changing in name and focus. Multicultural education is the most current of these programs. It shares three concerns with the programs that preceded it. First, multicultural education recognizes the influence of culture on learning. Second, it recognizes that a child's home and school cultures may clash; and third, it relies on schools to right social wrongs.

Because of historical forces, multicultural education's goals have changed. Early cultural programs were developed in the late 19th century when the United States was perceived as a "melting pot" in which Poles, Slavs, Italians, and other ethnic groups would become "Americans" (Handlin, 1951). The goal of these early programs was to "Americanize" the children of Southern and Eastern European immigrants, that is, to create a homogeneous population sharing one language and single set of values and norms (Tyack, 1974). Early curricular and teacher training efforts focused on race relations and the improvement of intergroup relations in the classroom (Taba et al., 1952).

However, the goals of these early programs were not met; the United States was not a completely successful "melting pot." Many ethnic groups retained their cultural values and mores. They cultivated their mother languages and taught their children the same values their parents had been taught in the "Old Country." In addition, other groups, particularly racial minorities, were never even asked to enter the "melting pot." Long after the end of slavery, racial minorities were denied access to equal educational opportunities by institutional segregation and deep-rooted racial prejudice in the schools.

In the second half of the 20th Century, court decisions, advances in the social sciences and the civil rights movement led to a reexamination of

how schools should deal with cultural differences. The courts became active in eliminating structural barriers to equal opportunity; the 1954 brown vs the Board of Education decision was a major challenge to the practice of establishing "separate but equal" schools for Whites and other racial groups. Social scientists turned their efforts to dispelling negative stereotypes of minority groups and to understanding the social context that leaves certain groups on the lower rung of the social and economic ladder. As part of the growing civil rights movement in the 1960s, people also began to take pride in the uniqueness of their cultural heritage. A search for cultural "roots" became widespread, and racial minorities rejected theories that they were "culturally deprived". The goals of multicultural education shifted in response to this new context, which included an awareness of inequity and pride in cultural difference. Its goals have broadened to include both the elimination of educational inequity and the appreciation of cultural differences.

Current Views of Multicultural Education

In this historical context, multicultural education is seen as an educational activity appropriate for all children, not just children of racial minorities. Multicultural education is a process of developing social awareness and an appreciation of diversity among all students. In order for multicultural education to be successful, multicultural aspects must be incorporated into both the process of instruction as well as the content of instruction (Deslonde, 1977). In a multicultural education context, teaching styles should be culturally sensitive and content should be culturally diverse.

Because of its varied goals, a single definition of multicultural education does not exist. For the purposes of this report, multicultural education can be described as a process by which people learn to appreciate and get along in several cultures. Education that is multicultural recognizes the coexistence of many cultures and builds on the ability of people to think and act according to differing sets of standards; that is, a person trained in multicultural education understands that there are multiple "standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing, and doing" (Gibson,1977); they are equipped with the social analysis and social problem-solving

skills that can be used to remove barriers associated with most plural societies (Baker et al., 1977).

Our working definition of multicultural education essentially agrees with Banks (1979). In an attempt to disentangle the "wide range of concepts" about multicultural education, he poses the following:

> Since culture is the root of "multicultural," multicultural education suggests a type of education that is related in some way to a range of cultural groups. The concept implies little more than education related to many cultures. A major aim of multicultural education should be to educate students so that they will acquire knowledge about a range of cultural groups and develop the attitudes, skills, and abilities needed to function at some level of competency within many different cultural environments. . .Another appropriate goal of multicultural education is to reform the total school environment so that students from diverse cultural groups will be able to experience equal education opportunities (p. 240).

Multicultural Education in Teacher Corps

Teacher Corps' mandate to improve education for low-income children is naturally linked with the goals of multicultural education, because low-income children often must learn to live in a number of cultural settings. The Teacher Corps Program seeks to apply the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of multicultural education to real-life problems in schools. Thus, the Teacher Corps Rules and Regulations, which guide program development for all Project '78 programs, mandates a focus on multicultural education. The language concerning multicultural objectives is simple and direct. Each project school must have objectives designed to improve the competency of all educational personnel employed by the project schools (including teacher interns) so that they can "provide education that is multicultural and be knowledgeable and sensitive to the needs of diverse cultures, regardless of the pupil population served by the project" (Federal Register, Sec. 172.62).

The Rules and Regulations set a general mandate, but they do not provide in-depth guidelines to help local projects create multicultural education programs. However, Teacher Corps does provide other sources for this purpose including:

- Teacher Corps Networks

- National and regional Teacher Corps conferences
- Consultants
- Teacher Corps publications
- Corps Members Training Institute.

The Networks

The Teacher Corps Networks' activities are the most immediate source of assistance for local directors. This is accomplished in one of two ways. First, the network meetings serve as a gathering place for Teacher Corps participants, especially project directors, where they can share their accomplishments and offer assistance to each other.

Second, the networks offer services to the projects that could not otherwise be obtained independently. These meetings function as a forum where project directors can share their mutual successes and problems. Often this results in exchange visits among the various directors who then serve as consultants to help with various management and program problems in other projects. Each of the three networks housing our study sites at some point offered assistance in multicultural education in the form of workshops, publications, consultant rosters, or assistance with program planning for the local projects.

National and Regional Teacher Corps Conference

Multicultural education conferences on a national and regional basis are another source of information for project directors. These conferences can be sponsored by networks, by individual projects, or by Teachers Corps Washington. These conferences usually rely heavily on charismatic speakers and sensitization workshops and give information that may or may not be of use to local Teacher Corps projects.

Consultants

A third source of information available to local projects is consultants. The consultant rosters for Teacher Corps are extensive and contain the names of highly recognized social scientists and others concerned with improving low-income schools. These consultants can be hired through various technical assistance contracts monitored through the Teacher Corps

Washington office, from lists maintained by the networks, or through word-of-mouth recommendations. Sometimes consultants hired through a Teacher Corps contract attempt to sustain a follow-through program with the projects they help.

Teacher Corps Publications

Some of the consultants on various Teacher Corps rosters are also authors of works published with Teacher Corps financial support. Thus, a wide variety of publications dealing with multicultural education is available to the local projects (see p. 77). Also, newsletters and other flyers containing multicultural education articles are often circulated nationally through the Teacher Corps Networks or distributed at regional and national conferences.

Corps Member Training Institute

The clearest statement of Teacher Corps' wishes and desires for multicultural education can be found at the Corps Member Training Institute (CMTI), which is conducted annually for the team leaders and the four interns from all local projects. One of the primary objectives of the 1979 Institute was to introduce the interns to "Education that is multicultural (EMC)." A large number of Teacher Corps consultants, who also serve on an ongoing basis as multicultural education consultants for the local projects, were involved in this training effort.

EMC was stressed throughout the 3 weeks of CMTI training. The training focused on furnishing the team leaders and interns with firsthand experiences in cultural coexistence, and on introducing them to numerous concepts of multicultural education. To this end, the Institute provided an actual multicultural experience for the participants to help them define and conceptualize the scope and content of multicultural education. Through a series of simulated role-playing exercises, films, books, and class discussions, the Institute introduced multicultural education as a vehicle for broadening one's awareness of social problems. For example, such concepts as powerlessness, sexism, racism, and cultural conflict formed part of CMTI's academic content.

The Institute's deliberate provision of a direct multicultural experience and appropriate content for the participants was meant to simulate what Teacher Corps expected interns to encounter in their projects, as well as the kind of multicultural program their local projects might develop. Thus, the CMTI was intended to provide training for multicultural program development and implementation at the local project site. However, on returning to the local project sites, the team leaders and interns often found that they were the only staff or participants with such training.

In summary, multicultural education is mandated in general terms by the Teacher Corps Rules and Regulations, and there is much room left for local projects to develop innovative, site-specific programs and to adapt the mandate to local conditions and needs. More specific assistance for local projects is available through the networks, conferences, consultants, and (for interns and team leaders) through CMTI. Despite the wide array of multicultural education assistance available to projects, there is little or no overt pressure by Teacher Corps Washington for local program developers to avail themselves of any of these resources.

The Proposed Multicultural Components in the Four Study Sites*

As discussed previously, the Teacher Corps Rules and Regulations set a general mandate, that specifies that local projects provide education that is multicultural. The 1978 grant proposals for the four study sites reflect this mandate. The following is a summary description of the study sites' formal plans for providing multicultural education, as outlined in their 1978 grant proposals.

The Edgewater Project

As stated in its proposal, Edgewater's overall objective regarding multicultural education was to assist teachers "to treat multicultural concepts in the context of all the subjects they teach." The most specific set of activities described in the proposal is the course work to be offered to teachers during the second and third years of the project.

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* Names of sites, people, and places have been changed.

The Chattsworth Project

Chattsworth's proposal sought the "development of a total curriculum that reflects principles associated with education that are multicultural and an ongoing part of the in-service portion." One objective was for teachers to be "sensitive to the biases that violate sound principles of instruction of culturally different students." More specifically, they proposed to have the interns conduct community case studies of six families and to make this information available to the teachers. Curricular offerings would then be reexamined, and their appropriateness to the cultural characteristics of the community determined.

The Martinsville Project

Martinsville proposed to implement a series of workshops, classes, and home visitations to increase teachers' sensitivity to children whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds were different from their own. They made repeated pledges to increase the number of school-community activities across social class and across occupational and ethnic lines. The project also proposed to facilitate the acceptance of migrant families into the community by offering assistance with citizenship attainment and English instruction.

The Greensville Project

The Greensville proposal suggested cultural immersion for teachers to improve their basic sensitivity of the needs of "other culture" students. Ten teachers in each of the project schools were to be selected to "imbed and integrate multicultural information into the curriculum." A multicultural task force was to be formed to spearhead these activities as well as to conduct a multicultural needs assessment.

In summary, each of the proposals contained sections addressed specifically to the general Teacher Corps mandate that local programs provide education that is multicultural. The proposed plans varied in emphasis and in their degree of specificity and ambition. None of them outlined in detail how multicultural principles were to be incorporated into all aspects of the curriculum, nor did the proposals specifically indicate how teachers, school administrators, and the community might receive multicultural education proposals such as those described.

The Actual Multicultural Education Program Development

As the preceding indicates, all four projects planned to develop multicultural education programs. In what follows, we present descriptions of the actual multicultural education program development that took place in the study sites during the planning year (and during a few months of the first operational year). There was a great need for multicultural education in all of the projects. Although we often found some conditions favorable to the development of a comprehensive multicultural program, the presence of many inhibiting factors in the sites led to the development of less ambitious plans than were outlined in the original proposals. In fact, this is reflected in the continuation proposals completed midway through the planning year; they often contained a rehash of the information the original proposal and reflected very little new thinking or elaboration on the original plans.

The Edgewater Project

Some conditions exist in the Edgewater State College Teacher Corps project that would potentially facilitate the development of a good multicultural education program. For example, the community, particularly the Black community, is supportive of multicultural education. Black community members like the idea because they endorse any plan that will help their children, especially if it is consistent with their own cultural values. In addition, there are signs of interest in multicultural education among the Teacher Corps staff as well as among some school personnel. For example, the principals of the elementary and middle schools are interested in multicultural education, and a few teachers are pursuing their own personal interest in it. Several teachers at the middle school began developing a 3-year multicultural education curriculum before becoming involved in Teacher Corps. The curriculum includes a sequence of topics--"Man in His Environment," "Man in His Culture," and "Man in Multiculture." Finally, the Teacher Corps staff has good rapport with the local schools; the project director has capitalized on this and he has exerted dynamic leadership on the project. He appears to be in the enviable position of being able to implement most of his ideas and program objectives without much bureaucratic resistance.

Despite these feelings of support and interest, however, no project-wide multicultural emphasis has been developed in the Edgewater Teacher Corps project. The Teacher Corps staff was very proud of a multicultural education symposium organized by the Teacher Corps project. This symposium left project personnel excited about the concept of multicultural education, but without any sense of direction on how to implement it. Later in the year, the project hired a consultant to train the Teacher Corps and district office staff in developing a multicultural program; however, nothing has been implemented as yet.

There are several obstacles that must be overcome before a successful multicultural program can be established in Edgewater. First, paralleling teacher support of multicultural education is a great deal of vocal teacher resistance to its tenets. The seeds of another obstacle were sown 5 years ago when the Edgewater schools were ordered to desegregate by federal court order. Racial violence erupted at that time and continues to simmer. Teachers were required to take courses in human relations and multicultural education in preparation for desegregation. However, they were described as poorly designed and executed and they generated much antagonism that continues to this day. In addition, most teachers in Edgewater feel they know enough about multicultural education because they work with Black children every day. However, multicultural curricula do not exist in most of the schools, and White teachers outnumber Black teachers ten to one.

Teachers in both of the elementary schools and the high school showed no real interest in the area of multicultural education. Teachers at the elementary schools said, "Our kids get along well . . . ," implying that they did not need multicultural education. Although there was more interest at the high schools, there was a great deal of resistance as well. Some teachers viewed the effort with much cynicism which prompted one to say that it would be "fun" to develop a curriculum around "ethnic dogs" (French poodles, German shepherds, English terriers).

Another inhibiting factor was the lack of expertise in multicultural education on the part of the community's school personnel, Teacher Corps staff, and Edgewater State College faculty. For example, no one on the Edgewater State's Teacher Corps staff has a background in multicultural education, and efforts to develop expertise in the area have been limited

to organizing conferences and workshops. The project staff is supportive of the idea of multicultural education but they have yet to make it part of the program.

The Chattsworth Project

Conditions in the Chattsworth project are ideal for creating a successful multicultural education program. Located in a culturally isolated, poor, agricultural, and predominantly Black community, it has a great need for a multicultural education program. There was generally a positive attitude among the teachers (i.e., many openly expressed support for Teacher Corps), which remained throughout the planning year. The planning year was well-designed, and the project as a whole was well-managed. In addition, the project director had years of experience managing other complex educational programs (see pp. 40 and 53).

In spite of the presence of many conditions favoring a good multicultural education program, the Chattsworth project did not use the planning year to plan or develop a projectwide multicultural education program. In fact, the management chart used by the project director and policy board to monitor the project's progress showed no multicultural activities. Although the community case studies (discussed earlier in this section) could potentially be an exciting component of a multicultural education program, this activity was assigned to the relatively inexperienced interns who worked in isolation because no one on the staff had experience or training in case study methodology. When asked why interns were requested to develop case studies, a staff member said that a similar component had been implemented in the previous cycle of Teacher Corps by the interns, but he later admitted that "We didn't have any success with it at that time, either."

The low level of multicultural education development and implementation in the Chattsworth project was due to several factors. First, no one in the project, the schools, or the community council had much expertise in the field of multicultural education. Teachers, community leaders, and parents who talked about this program component equated multicultural education with race relations. Second, many teachers and other Teacher Corps participants saw no need for multicultural education ". . . because

we are an all-Black school." In addition, people were reluctant to endorse such an activity because they felt that nothing should be done to disturb the pleasant state of race relations currently existing in the community (see pp. 70 to 73). A third impediment to multicultural education in Chattsworth was the highly formalized relationship nurtured between the college and the Teacher Corps project director. The college's participation in Teacher Corps could be characterized as a "business deal." While the faculty had their budget allotment and their management objectives, they had relatively little input into decisions about major program objectives and activities. For example, no college faculty member was actively engaged in any of the various planning phases of the project.

The Martinsville Project

The Martinsville project has the potential to develop a successful multicultural education program. For example, this project has attracted two energetic men from the university (the director and program development specialist) who are thoroughly wedded to the concept of multicultural education. They include multicultural content in all the courses they teach. More importantly, their support of multicultural education has permeated much of the planning activities at the university, as illustrated below.

Largely through the efforts of the project director, the university created a position for a faculty member whose role is to develop a multicultural component for the university's general teacher education program. In addition, through a series of individual negotiations with various faculty members, the project director was skillfully able to encourage other faculty to include a multicultural component in their research. This director did not have a rigid management plan. He was genuinely interested in generating new ideas and infusing the project with them; he was not afraid to "buy" faculty services, i.e., offer summer stipends, pay fares to meetings, and so forth, in order to attract good people to the Teacher Corps project (see pp. 135 to 137).

As a result, the university's teacher education courses and some of the teaching activities will be genuinely changed as a result of the Teacher Corps presence. At least one major mandate of Teacher Corps (e.g.,

reform in teacher education toward field-based, multicultural programs) is being accomplished at this university. The dean supports the director in his efforts, faculty are happy with financial rewards and feel they are making a real contribution to a worthwhile effort.

Success at the university, however, has not filtered down to the Martinsville schools or community. There are many factors inhibiting the development of a good multicultural education program in the district. First, the community has a long history of very poor race relations. In addition, at both the state level and the community level there has been open, articulate opposition to bilingual education (which, in this project, would have to be included in multicultural education). For example, the teachers in the district have strong, hostile feelings about the bilingual program. Many teachers feel that all children should be "getting some of this federal money." They rationalize their resistance by claiming that bilingual education tends to create ethnic factions in the school and community and exacerbates the already poor race relations in Martinsville. Their negative feelings about bilingual education extend to multicultural education as well. Further, the teachers and some other community persons resent federal programs for minority groups because many of the teachers and community members are struggling to raise families on financially marginal farms, and they see federal programs as a way for others to "get something for nothing." These attitudes permeate the Martinsville schools and the community and serve as a threat to the liberal ideas expressed through multicultural education.

Additional problems are created by the antagonistic relations between the teachers' union and the superintendent; this antagonism has affected just about every programmatic effort in the district. Finally, the district has no previous experience with Teacher Corps, and has never worked in a collaborative fashion with the university. In fact, because the district is at least 20 miles from the nearest university and more than 40 miles from the university associated with the Teacher Corps project, it has a long history of isolation from "university types."

The director's reaction to these problems has been to take a cautious approach in developing a multicultural program. He said, "Multicultural education! I don't even mention the word in Martinsville!" He planned to

concentrate initially on improving the multicultural education offerings at the university and on creating good rapport with the Martinsville community before launching a full-scale multicultural program in the schools. He recognized that multicultural education would not be accepted unless he approached Martinsville slowly and carefully.

The Greensville Project

Conditions favorable to the creation of an extensive multicultural education program also existed in Greensville. The local schools serve students from diverse cultural backgrounds. One school, in fact, has students representing 31 different nationalities. At least one of the local schools suffered from racial strife, to which a multicultural program could have been addressed. In addition, the community was receptive to new ideas. This local situation was reinforced by the fact that the planning structure of the Teacher Corps project was well designed, and the project included a multicultural education task force given carte blanche to plan and implement a projectwide multicultural education program.

In spite of these favorable conditions, the Greensville Project produced no multicultural education program. This was primarily because project energy was diverted into political squabbling and staff reorganization. Poor Teacher Corps staff relations consumed much time and energy and led to a complete staff turnover (including the project director) before the planning year was completed. The bickering and job insecurity of the staff eroded the energy that could, under more pleasant and productive staff conditions, have been applied to the planning and developing of a projectwide multicultural program component.

In addition, the atmosphere at the university was racked with interethnic conflict and interpersonal politics. Although experienced faculty members could have developed a multicultural education program, no faculty, other than those on the Teacher Corps staff, participated in the planning phase of the project. In fact, none of the university's Black faculty were on the Teacher Corps staff; the Teacher Corps project was severely criticized on this point by the Black faculty and there was a subtle boycott of the project by this group.

Bilingual Education: More Views Than One

The views recorded below were taken from field notes (Martinsville, 4/79) at the Martinsville/Greensberg project. They were taken from notes obtained in a meeting room at Greensberg State University, a Mexican Restaurant in Martinsville, a school gymnasium before a community meeting with the State Department of Education and an automobile ride on a rural country road just outside of Martinsville. Note taking was in full view of the speakers and a few comments were requested to be confidential (which do not appear below).

Opening question: How do you feel about bilingual education here in Martinsville?

University professor (after a long thoughtful pause): "I believe there are members in the state legislature who believe that all cultural differences should be eradicated and that bilingual education should be a massive acculturation effort...to get all the kids to be speakers of perfect English. Therefore, they are opposed to many bilingual/bicultural efforts throughout the state."

State Department Official: "Bilingual education has never been an educational program, it's always been a political movement." (remark unprompted, in response to the University professor's remarks)

Another State Department Official: "Most classrooms reflect a middle class environment, not a culturally relevant room...Some school principals think it is unpatriotic if the 16th of September is celebrated as a school holiday; some school principals, teachers, and parents think bilingual education is unpatriotic. Then (state legislature) do not want Anglo children to participate in bilingual programs, they want the program to be remedial and compensatory, not culturally enriching."

Bilingual education program director: Anglos fear that their children's achievement will be hurt by the bilingual program, they think it is unamerican and will foster unpatriotic attitudes among Chicanos...(Their reactions) are just plain prejudiced against minorities."

Teacher Corps staff member: "Bilingual Education is a dirty word around here! (with excitement) I never mention it - I say multicultural education, not bilingual education!"

School Teacher: "Why all this fuss about bilingual education - they need to learn English if they are going to get along in life."

School Teacher: "Relevant education is using everything in the child's experience to teach him - that includes language used at home - that's bilingual education."

Teacher Corps Staff: "The white community is opposed to Federal funds for minority children, that includes bilingual education."

Martinsville's program was cited by two State Department officials in a community meeting as a highly successful and exemplary program.

Other factors also prevented the development of a multicultural education program. For example, during a large part of the planning year, there was widespread misunderstanding of multicultural education; people saw it in terms of bilingual education. The project's response was to bring in a consultant, but some staff members felt that he only added to the confusion. The community coordinator who had responsibility for coordinating the multicultural education task force openly expressed dissatisfaction with her assignment because she did not have the training nor the desire to work in the area of multicultural education. As a result, the task force lacked vigorous leadership and agreed-upon purpose.

In sum, personal politics, the lack of participatory leadership from the university, confusion among staff about multicultural education, and poor project management all combined to produce lackluster planning and worked against the development of a substantial multicultural education program in the Greensville project.

Multicultural Education: Implementation Barriers

As these examples illustrate, the four projects studied did not plan substantial projectwide multicultural education programs. There were a number of impediments to the development of such programs. These impediments can be grouped into two types. The first type is associated with multicultural education itself and the second type exists in the wider social environment.

Impediments Associated With Multicultural Education

Problems associated with the implementation of multicultural education programs exist at both a general and at a site-specific level. We will discuss the general impediments first, and then follow with a discussion of the site-specific ones.

General Problems

It is difficult for individual Teacher Corps projects to clearly define multicultural education, as proponents of this type of education do not agree on a definition of it. Social scientists intentionally define multicultural education in broad, general terms suited to a variety of

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: VIEWS FROM THE BOTTOM

These excerpts were taken from various field notes throughout the last five months of the study. By this time the local projects had submitted their continuation proposals, thus we could safely ask for opinions about Multicultural Education without influencing any aspect of the continuation proposal.

Community Council Chairperson and Teacher Corps Staff Member: When Ms. Penderman was asked for her opinions about Multicultural Education she seemed less confident and finally admitted that she was not quite sure what Multicultural Education was all about.

"...if you could just bring in anybody different--it would be adequate...if the children could go to visit other people...perhaps a multicultural day with different types of foods.

Knapp: Yes we are isolated. Why I never used a fork when I was growing up! We just ate with anything handy. I was an adult when I used a fork for the first time. A lot of our kids have similar experiences. It seems as if our problem is to overcome...to erase the image that Multicultural Education means "racial"--that you need a mixed group of students ... Even with all those conferences that Teacher Corps gave on Multicultural Education, no one ever attempted to explain what Multicultural Education is.

Penderman: I'm not sure I know what it is, either."

Teacher: Dottie said that Teacher Corps' priorities, such as Multicultural Education, are "all garbage."

Teacher Corps Staff: Education is most difficult...and every time we have a network activity it's something different. It's hard to explain to people in isolated, rural areas what Multicultural Education is.

Nelson: They (teachers and other school related personnel) are four years behind the time--they are still focusing on race relations...

Callahan: Multicultural Education and race relations are synonomous in their minds.

Nelson: ...they have to go through that first stage of awareness before we can do anything in Multicultural Education.

Callahan: A Teacher Corps official in Washington told me that this was the most difficult part of Teacher Corps to deal with and to implement.

Nelson: They (the teachers) are not willing to discuss other cultures at that level, they would tend to want to deal with other cultures only after the Black-White race issues have been discussed. Why, I doubt if there has ever been a human relations workshop in Crawford County.

Callahan: The teachers have a normal district concerning these matters...the White power structure has always been the final authority. If they (teachers) stick their heads out, they get their heads knocked down. I think the Multicultural element should surface from the grass roots level.

Nelson: We want to revise curriculum to include Multicultural content; we'll do this through planning teams.

Callahan (after much thought): I was told that a White director's name would be mud. I was told this by someone in the TeacherCorps-Washington office when I first became interested in Teacher Corps. I had to get this image straight before I got involved with Teacher Corps. And this was a Teacher Corps national staff member.

Callahan seemed to imply by these remarks that if Teacher Corps Washington is hung-up on racial issues, then Crawford County may not be bad off.

Nelson: There is resistance because of what happened over the past years. For instance, 26 Black teachers were released during the desegregation. Until that time they were basically left alone--they have not prepared themselves for any upward mobility. Then when someone is selected for an administrative position, they are really not prepared to carry out the duties. Then if that person is fired, it becomes a Black-White issue. An outsider would have a tough time getting something done. They don't want to prepare themselves yet they don't want outsiders to do it also.

contexts. Unfortunately, the social scientists who develop these definitions and refine these multicultural concepts rarely try to implement specific multicultural programs in schools; they leave this task to those with less expertise in the research and conceptual development of multicultural education.

As part of its mandate to ensure that children receive an education that is multicultural, Teacher Corps calls upon leading scholars and practitioners to present the concepts of multicultural education to interested project personnel. The multicultural experts involved in Teacher Corps, however, are no different from other social scientists working on issues in multicultural education; they also describe multicultural education in broad terms. Though we have pointed out that it is necessary to use broad terms when talking abstractly about multicultural education, these definitions provide little concrete direction to those who must take abstract concepts and transform them into programs; further, even the experts, when called upon, often do not provide specific implementation information.

While Teacher Corps makes certain that such experts and their knowledge are available to local projects through conferences and workshops, the information these experts provide key project personnel (such as project directors and IHE staff) may give them a false sense of expertise in the area of multicultural education, or it may not be suitable for application at the local level. Further, the only role groups given thorough training in multicultural education (the interns and team leaders) find themselves in a difficult position to initiate multicultural programs in most projects. These three problems with Teacher Corps' strategy are discussed below.

First, project directors, who are the key personnel expected to give actual intellectual leadership to the projects, receive no specific training in multicultural education. They may or may not attend workshops or conferences designed to "sensitize" them to issues in multicultural education or to show them available materials. While they leave these gatherings with a sense of familiarity with multicultural education, they are unable to articulate the principles behind it, and are certainly not able to excite others in their project to implement a multicultural approach in their teaching. Another type of conference is the "show and tell" variety; demonstrations, material displays, and anecdotal accounts frequently dominate the meetings. These conferences frequently lead participants to

conclude that the specific multicultural education activities exhibited were so highly specific to the demonstrator's particular local needs that the mechanisms could not be transferred to other projects. They concluded that these activities were nothing more than interesting ventures to watch but "We could never do that in my project."

Second, interns and team leaders do receive a comprehensive background in multicultural education through CMTI channels, as discussed previously. Many of the interns become frustrated, however, when they return from immersion in multicultural education at CMTI to find that local project staff know little about multicultural education and have few plans to incorporate it into their local program plans. They are at a loss in knowing how to infuse the local personnel with the insights and enthusiasm they have gained.

Finally, during our visits to the projects we did not observe the Teacher Corps Washington staff advising or pressuring local projects to avail themselves of sources of information about multicultural education. Although elaborate proposal statements about multicultural education were contained in the funded grant proposals, it appears that the monitoring process did not focus on this component of the projects.

Site-Specific Problems

A number of problems also exist at the local project level that impede multicultural education program development. First, expertise in multicultural education is not widespread in colleges and universities across the country. None of the IHEs in the projects we studied had faculty member expertise in multicultural education. In the sites studied, only one IHE (in Martinsville) was persuaded by the local Teacher Corps project to hire such an expert.

Most of the IHEs relied on existing staff or consultants to develop a multicultural education program. The lack of local expertise often dealt a death blow to the development of a multicultural education component in the project. For example, in Greensville, a staff member assigned to develop the multicultural education component complained:

> I don't have the training in this area [multicultural education] and, therefore, I should not be in charge of it. I have told [the project director] over and over I don't have the expertise in multicultural education, but either he doesn't hear or doesn't care or wants to see me fail or see multicultural education fail.

Relying on consultants also created problems. Rather than plan programs and intellectually explore the field of multicultural education, many projects accepted multicultural education as a package, developed by one of the multicultural education consultants. When our study team questioned the project staff about their views on multicultural education, a common response was to ask whether we had heard of or read someone's theories. For example, a project director said, "Have you read Carl Grant's book on multicultural education? Well, do read it; then you'll know exactly what we think about multicultural education."

Because of this lack of expertise at the IHE (as well as the lack of good training provided IHE staff by Teacher Corps), key project personnel at the IHE were unable to give intellectual guidance to other staff members in the area of multicultural education. This is a crucial problem because these personnel often make important decisions concerning the focus and content of the local Teacher Corps training. Most of the key personnel know about multicultural education through conferences they attend, but few can articulate a programmatic definition of multicultural education.

Another local impediment is the sometimes hostile resistance to multicultural education among teachers. Few projects seemed to anticipate this resistance.* This resistance is largely a result of a misunderstanding of the goals and objectives of multicultural education. Many teachers see multicultural education as an "add-on," that is, as something extra to do. They do not see it as a basic component in all curricula. Rather, it is too often seen as a frill that will not help children learn basic skills.

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* Most of the teachers who resist multicultural education are White; minority teachers are often supporters of multicultural education. In most of the schools studied, however, White teachers outnumber minority teachers.

Teachers also have the wrong impression of the proper audience for multicultural education. They feel that if they do not have children from a number of cultures in their classrooms, the teaching program does not need a multicultural component. As one local Teacher Corps teacher said, "We don't have a multicultural population, so there's really no need for multicultural education. . . ."

Other teachers resent the emphasis that most multicultural education materials place on Blacks and Chicanos. They say, "If it is multicultural education, it should focus on all cultures, not just Blacks." This sentiment illustrates an undercurrent of resentment harbored by some who feel that a small segment of the population is receiving special attention. One teacher complained: "Why should everything be Mexican-American? My parents were German and Italian--we need to teach about all the ethnic groups in America; that bilingual program serves only one small portion. . . ."

Other teachers may have been interested in multicultural education at one time, but have had previous experiences with what they described as poorly developed and poorly presented programs which may have led to their present antagonism. Several college officials at Edgewater State agree with the teachers' assessment. One said that "Teachers do not like to hear about multicultural education because they were 'ripped off' before. . . ."

Another local impediment to multicultural education is that teachers interested in multicultural education are frustrated because "packaged" multicultural education curricula do not exist. They attend workshops and lectures, but they do not receive specific materials; they do not know how to take information from lectures and use it to develop their own programs. Sentiments like the following were common:

> People want a more practical, classroom-oriented approach. Teachers need to know how to teach multicultural education . . . We need to go beyond sensitivity; we need to do something about it.

In summary, these impediments to the implementation of multicultural education programs in the local Teacher Corps projects grow out of a confusion over the definition, objectives, and target audiences of multicultural education. This confusion is not isolated at the local project level, although it becomes most obvious there, especially in the classroom. Teachers

resist multicultural education because they perceive inadequacies in the existing multicultural curricular materials and because they feel that minority groups are overrepresented in the materials that are available to them. Also, the proponents of multicultural education (including Teacher Corps Washington staff and consultants) do not agree on definitions of multicultural education or on how to implement it. Teacher Corps Washington channels its efforts into "sensitizing" local project staff members, but it leaves them with little guidance on how to implement site-specific programs. The team leaders and interns, who have the most thorough knowledge of multicultural education, do not have enough influence on the projects to make a difference. At the project level, then, no one is capable of transferring the spirit of multicultural education into the schools.

Impediments in the Wider Social Environment

Teacher Corps exists because inequity exists in American schools. Most of the inequity is a consequence of discrimination against certain racial and ethnic groups and social classes. Prejudice against these groups did not disappear with civil rights legislation, school desegregation, and federal education improvement programs. Resistance to multicultural education and misunderstandings of it are often tied either to latent or overt racism. All people tend to create social boundaries based on skin color. Usually these boundaries are not challenged, and people of different colors coexist with few problems. Multicultural education, however, challenges the basis upon which some people create social boundaries. Multicultural education challenges cultural values and norms, and some people resist learning that their values and norms are not shared by everyone and are not superior to the norms and values of others.

Techniques used to present multicultural education often result in a feeling of both guilt and "culturelessness" among White participants. White interns and team leaders at CMTI conferences at times became angry because they felt they were being blamed for past injustices. Interns asked: "Why should we be made to feel guilty for racism that occurred in the past; judge me on my behavior today or tomorrow, not by what my ancestors did. . . ." In addition, at CMTI and in the local projects, Whites without strong ties to their ethnic heritage often felt as if they did not

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: MORE VIEWS FROM THE BOTTOM

Teacher Corps Staff: ...Fletcher stated that, even in face of this opposition, NCATE* (also mentioned by Smith) has pushed Multicultural Education. He concluded his remarks about the personal benefits he has derived from the short interaction with Multicultural Education:

> "I am culturally ignorant--I grew up in a small, all-White rural community, I'm on step one and I have a lot to learn ... I can't buy into these Multicultural Education plans with tunnel vision. As long as the White majority has the pursestrings, minorities will always have problems--Multicultural Education has to be broad and inclusive ... ethnocentrism has hurt the bilingual program. We're all torn different ways."

*NCATE--National Council for Accreditation for Teacher Education states a requirement of Multicultural Education for all accredited Teacher Education programs.

IHE Faculty: When asked about anticipated problems at CSU, Fletcher mentioned that CSU does not have a Multicultural student population or faculty, many of CSU's students don't go to multicultural districts to teach. He stated that a recent CSU needs assessment among the faculty ranked Multicultural Education 2/3 down on the priority scale and, lastly, he felt that state level funding is at the elementary level and most of CSU's strengths were in secondary education.

Community Council Chairperson: On Multicultural Education, she said, "I don't expect much in this area because the two meetings I attended nothing got off the ground. We need a good multicultural program in our schools since we have so many cultures in them."

School Principal: When asked his feelings on Multicultural Education, Bill Jones said, "It's not going to work well, not unless teachers' attitudes change toward the Nubian and other limited English speaking people. A lot of these teachers feel these children cannot learn and therefore they don't even try to help them."

School Principals: When asked how did he see Multicultural Education, he said, "A rich curriculum that everyone can identify with. Teachers with the right attitude to motivate all students to want to learn." He went on to say that Multicultural Education could be used to help his students with their Basic Skills...."Basic Skills are our biggest problem around here. If these kids can identify with the curriculum it will help them with the three R's."

In another context, I asked about Multicultural Education and received a blank stare from Tulley and Block. Tulley said they have a lot of "cultures from the islands, but the kids aren't interested in that."

Teacher Corps Staff: If you let someone who doesn't understand the basic rudiments of administration in, then you are constantly on the defensive because they don't do the job; it's then resolved to the Black-White issue...it has given them a crutch, they invariably fall back on that issue.

We are afraid to start dealing at that level; if we are unsuccessful then we will be blamed. Thus, we are not even planning any parts of Multicultural Education until the first semester of next year.

have a culture. The emphasis on racial and ethnic minorities' cultural heritages left some Whites with a sense of loss and rootlessness. For many Whites this ambivalent feeling was often acted out in forms of resistance to multicultural education.

The CMTI recreation of an actual multicultural experience was an extreme version of multicultural education and it produced extreme reactions. Any form of multicultural education development activity, however, has the potential of creating similar reactions from people who resist challenges to their values and norms. It will create especially negative reactions from people who harbor resentment and prejudice against racial and ethnic minority groups.

The wide range of implementation impediments we uncovered in this study are summarized below:

- Lack of clear operational definitions from social scientists
- False sense of expertise (from conferences, workshops, speakers, other consultants)
  - Show and tell workshops
  - Sensitizing
  - Performances
- No specific training for directors
- Interns not utilized as resources
- Washington priority not evident
- Very little expertise in IHE
- Heavy reliance on consultants
- Hostile resistance from teachers
- Misunderstanding of goals of multicultural education
- Wrong impression of proper audience
- Resistance to new values and norms
- White guilt, feelings of culturelessness
- Catalyst for racist reactions.

In summary, it appears as though Teacher Corps alone is incapable of solving the social context problems associated with multicultural education. Teacher Corps, in this instance, acts as a catalyst to surface and reflect these problems in a focused school setting. However, attention to the programmatic impediments might facilitate more actual multicultural activities in the projects.

IV TEACHER CORPS COLLABORATION

Collaborative Planning: The Mandate and Structure

The mandate that planning be collaborative is a key feature of the program for Teacher Corps projects. Unlike the mandate for multicultural education, the collaborative component of the local Teacher Corps projects is explicit: the institutions, agencies, and communities which participate in a project shall collaborate "in planning, carrying out, and evaluating the project" (Federal Register, Section 172.124d). The Rules and Regulations also clearly spell out the procedures for establishing the basic collaborative structure for the projects:

> These project objectives [planning, execution, and evaluation] must be developed jointly by the institution of higher learning, the local educational agency, and the community council (Federal Register, Section 172.61[b]).

While the guidelines are fairly specific, they leave the collaborative content and process open-ended enough so that they can be adapted to the varied conditions in each project.

Basically, the mandated collaborative structure requires the interaction of elected community councils drawn from the attendance areas of the project feeder schools; policy boards composed of the dean, the superintendent, and the community council chairperson; and planning groups composed of IHE faculty, community representatives, and LEA teachers. The project directors' job is to see that these different groups work together in planning the project programs.

The remainder of this chapter describes the components of the collaborative process, the products of collaborative planning, and the participants' reaction to and satisfaction with the collaborative planning effort.

Policy Boards

The Mandate

In addition to the straightforward call for collaboration, the Rules and Regulations mandate that projects organize a representative policy board. The Rules specify that "Each project must be planned and operated under the supervision of a policy board" (Federal Register, Section 172.15[a]) and be minimally composed of the dean of the school of education (or the IHE component offering the graduate training), the superintendent of the LEA, and the chairperson of the community council.

The mandate for a representative policy board attempts to assure collaboration at the final decisionmaking level. Having a representative policy board that held final discretionary power is unprecedented in Teacher Corps. Before the mandate, no one group or person was responsible for all policy decisions. Either the superintendent, dean, or project director was responsible for making policy. The policy board, with its minimal membership of an IHE, LEA, and community representative, is an attempt to promote broad and representative decisionmaking.

Policy boards in the four study sites were slow in getting started. They had to wait until the community council selected a chairperson. In all sites (except Edgewater*) there were requests to expand the board beyond the mandated three members. Other sites chose to include one or several representatives from the following role groups: teacher unions, IHE faculty, principals, and students.

Their Function

Policy boards were generally smoothly functioning groups who worked with a minimum of conflict; the groups quickly understood their charge and were able to function effectively shortly after their organization. Most of the policy boards depended heavily on the Teacher Corps staff (primarily the director) for information on project progress. Policy board meetings were usually called to approve budgets, select personnel, remain abreast of

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* Names of sites, people, and places have been changed.

project activities, and to schedule major events. The policy boards were remarkably free of overt power plays. No particular role group representative seemed threatened by any issue or agenda item that required debate or a vote by their fellow members.

Many members of the policy boards openly expressed how they benefited from increased communication with people with whom they would otherwise have had little contact. In two sites the policy board acted as a catalyst bringing the deans and the superintendents together for the first time. For example, the superintendent at one site was invited to conduct a seminar and co-teach a course with the dean. In another site, the dean planned a similar series of follow-up visits with the superintendent. When asked to assess the policy boards, both deans and superintendents cite the "coming together to interact over mutual problems" as the policy boards' greatest contribution during the planning. Community chairpersons echoed similar conclusions but, in addition, felt that the policy board helped the members dispel stereotypes about each other. Although most community council chairs initially felt inferior to the deans and superintendents, role distance broke down as they reached decisions jointly.

Although the policy boards from our sample sites can be characterized as smoothly run, the boards are often responsible for final decisions that are often potentially controversial. In one site the policy board was faced with "no win" situations twice when it was asked to select new staff members. The selection process became very political, and the board made decisions challenged by many of the Teacher Corps participants. Despite the chaos following each decision, the board members remained supportive of each other and of the decisions they had made.

In most sites the policy board is the only organized vehicle for collaborative planning. Although the Rules and Regulations mandate involvement of the three groups in the planning process, they do not offer guidelines on collaborative planning among groups. Two sites concentrated primarily on meeting the Rules and Regulations' planning specifications rather than on developing collaborative planning channels. The other two sites made a concerted effort to plan collaboratively across groups.

TEACHER CORPS

Greensberg State University
Project Director
Dr. Paul Brown
Field Director
Joseph Cook
Greensberg State University
Greensberg, USA

Martinsville School District
Superintendent
Jonathon Holmes
Martinsville Schools
Corn County, RE5
136 Smith Court
Martinsville, USA

POLICY BOARD MINUTES

The regular monthly Policy Board meeting was held in the Administration Board Room on Thursday, April 26, at 11:58 a.m.

Present: Dr. Jonathan Holmes, Superintendent of RE8 Schools; Dr. Bill Jinks, High School Principal; Dean Armstrong, GSU; Don Ashbrook, GSU; Joseph Cook, Project Assistant Director; Dr. Joanne Jinks, Project Consultant; Carol Young, Community Council Chairperson; Edward Dennis, TAB Chairperson; Dr. Paul Brown, Project Director

Minutes of the previous meeting were not read.

NEW BUSINESS

TEAM LEADER--Dr. Holmes moved to accept Jose Martinez as Martinsville Teacher Corps Team Leader. Motion was seconded, PASSED UNANIMOUSLY.

STUDENT TEACHERS FROM GSU--Student teachers carpooling from GSU would cost $20.00/day for 10 weeks or $1,000 per semester. The student teacher would have to be recruited, cooperating teachers in Martinsville.
Carol Young moved to accept student teachers from GSU at $1,000 per semester. PASSED.

TIME MANAGEMENT--Tabled.

APPROVAL FOR CONFERENCES--Dr. Holmes suggested that approval for conferences must first go through principals and then TAB.
Paul Brown, Director, will write or organize a policy statement.

TUITION REDUCTION POLICY--10% reduction of tuition fees every year that the person is in district up to 80%.
Bob Young, Dr. Bill Jinks, Paul Brown will put together a proposal.

COURSES ON SITE--Explore a contracting procedure.

INTERNS SCREENING--Intern applicants will be screened on Monday, April 30, at 7:00 p.m.

CONSULTANT RESOURCES--Was sent back to buildings.

COMMUNITY DAY--See attached sheet: Don Ashbrook asked for a motion to accept Community Council's Community Day Workshop. Carol Young moved to accept. MOTION CARRIED.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION PERSON--Moved to accept $2,000 for Community Education Person from the year's consulting budget of the Community Council. Person must be enrolled in the GSU Community Education Master Program.

NEXT POLICY BOARD MEETING--May 23, 1979 in the Administration Board Room at 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.

Meeting was adjourned at 1:15 p.m.

Bonita Lopez
Project Secretary

APPROVED ✓

DATE 5/23/79

Community Council

The Mandate

The Rules and Regulations define clearly how to organize a community council. Section 172.14 of the Regulations specified

- The size of the council--". . .at least seven members . . .
- Its composition--". . . representative of parents of children attending the project schools, and other residents of the area served by the school."
- The selection procedure--". . . an existing elected council . . . may serve as the community council . . . for up to 3 months . . . A communitywide election must be held to elect a community council for the project within 3 months after the date of the initial grant award (communitywide means within the attendance boundaries of the project schools)."

Council Members as Active Parents

The communities involved in this study were not newcomers to community participation in school affairs. By defining low-income families as having "a child whom the local educational agency may count under Section 103 of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965" [Section 172.2], Teacher Corps funded most projects in communities already involved in Title I programs. The majority of the council members were also involved in parent advisory councils mandated by Title I or bilingual education grants that had been ordered as components of school desegregation plans or voluntarily organized in the schools. In other words, Teacher Corps community councils were composed of well-seasoned parents who may have lacked familiarity with Teacher Corps but who had a great deal of experience with formal efforts to influence schools. The participation of a group of experienced parents is a mixed blessing for projects; they have knowledge of how to work in schools, but many also express skepticism toward federal programs and other outside efforts to help schools.

Electing a Community Council

The mandate for a community council is primarily concerned with the council elections. It specifies the size and composition of the council and sets a deadline for the elections. It does not, however, set guidelines on how to carry out the elections.

All of the study sites chose to delegate the primary responsibility for holding an election to a staff member designated as the community development specialist. These persons usually had considerable experience, some from past Teacher Corps cycles, in organizing community-school groups and were usually well-known in the community.

The community development specialists used a wide array of mechanisms to advertise the elections, solicit candidates, and arrange for voting. People in the feeder school communities were contacted through the use of flyers, send-home notices, TV talk shows, news articles in local newspapers, wall posters, and neighborhood papers. Voting machines, mail-out paper ballots, and a show of hands at community meetings were used as voting methods.

Most projects expected and received a modest turnout for the elections. Parents did not understand Teacher Corps or the role of the council in Teacher Corps. Except for the handful of active parents at each school, few parents voted. Elected council members, for the most part, were representative of the communities served. However, Teacher Corps staff members in the one bilingual site were disappointed that only one Mexican American was elected to the council. The presence of the neighborhood priest on the council, however, seemed to have reduced the magnitude of the problem.

Councils at Work

Immediate tasks for the councils were to select a chair, develop by-laws, and conduct needs assessments in the communities. Most councils were also involved in a number of training sessions and conferences, and some members participated on other planning groups.

For example, in one council several members received training in parliamentary procedure because they had complained of being "befuddled at procedures" during meetings with school officials. The community development specialists played a major role in directing these early efforts. Council members also attended regional and network Teacher Corps conferences, amd workshops. Most of these conferences focused on clarifying the purpose of Teacher Corps and the role of community councils in the local projects. Other workshops sponsored activities on multicultural education,

conducting needs assessments, and on exchanging general information with other projects. In the rural projects, especially, community council members often cited the opportunity to meet other people, attend stimulating conferences, and the chance for travel as unexpected but beneficial outcomes of their participation. Rural projects seem to need such opportunities to offset the relative isolation of their communities.

TEACHER CORPS

Greensberg State University
Project Director
Dr. Paul Brown
Field Director
Joseph Cook
Greensberg State University
Greensberg, USA

Martinsville School District
Superintendent
Dr. Jonathon Helmes
Martinsville Schools
Corn County RE5
156 Smith Court
Martinsville, USA

COMMUNITY COUNCIL MINUTES

The regular Community Council meeting was held at Carol Young's home on Monday, May 14, at 8:30 a.m.

Members present: Father Green, Linda Edwards, Louise Smith, Marilyn Bassett, JoAnn Jinks, Paul Brown, Suzanne Fink, Maria Lopez, Ann Martin, Carol Young

Guest: Sharon Vickers, Roberta Gardnor, Dr. Bill Clark, Evelyn Bernstein

Minutes of the previous meeting were approved as mailed

Policy Board Report - Carol Young reported that the Community Workshop and Community Ed person was approved by the Board.
Jose Martinez was selected and approved as Teacher Corps Teamleader.

Project Director Report - Paul Brown reported on the screening and selection process of interns. Emphasized the Community members to read the Rand Study. Shared communication from the Consultant and GSU coursework development.

Roberta Gardnor, Sharon Coursey and Sam Jones reported on the Bilingual/Bicultural Conference they attended in Seattle on May 6-9. All materials they received from the conference will be filed as further resources.

International Year of the Child - Up to $800 allowed for enrollment and transportaion for low-income children from Majestic Downs and Spartenberg for Summer Recreation Program. By general consent, Joanne Jinks and Don Cummins will work the details and evaluate.

Louise Edwards will be resigning from the Community Council for reasons that she will now be on the School Board. Community Council will appoint a new representative to take her place from District F.

Announcement - Policy Board Meeting on Wednesday, May 21, from 8:30-10:00 a.m. in the Administration Board Room.

Adjournment - 10:30 p.m.

Joanne Jinks reported on the Community Day Workshop and informed group of agenda discussion.

Carol Young
Community Council Chairperson

DATE:_____

APPROVED:_____

Products of Council Planning

In two sites the councils were very productive. For example, one council sponsored a 2-day workshop on literacy training to combat the high level of illiteracy in the area. Council members were trained as teachers of adults who were illiterate or functionally illiterate. As a follow-up, the council identified community residents who needed the instruction, and the members began teaching shortly after taking the training workshop.

This council also sponsored an extensive volunteer program. Approximately 16 volunteers were recruited, trained, and placed in the classroom as tutors and general classroom aides. In addition, the council sponsored a series of seminars on parenting, i.e., developing children's self-concept and learning styles, and helping them with math and reading. These seminars were taught by teachers, interns, and staff personnel, and were attended by parents and other residents in the community.

At another site the council collaborated with other local community groups and built a showcase playground in the low-income section of town. On two successive Saturdays, the group--a cross-section of council members, teachers, students, and other residents--dug holes, hammered, and hung equipment. The council also sponsored a community workshop to assess the community reaction to the ten goals they established for the coming years.

The councils at the other two sites, on the other hand, can point to few tangible outcomes from the planning year. Both councils were plagued by personal political struggles and conflicts over the budgets. Each site had to hire a new community development specialist during the planning year, which created dissension and distrust among the council members. At one site the council saw its role more as a critic of the teachers and a monitor of federal funds than as a supportive organization. Both sites had a history of disruptive desegregation politics.

LEA Involvement in Planning

The Mandate

The Rules and Regulations state that "all educational personnel employed by a project school must be involved in planning and carrying out the project in that school" (Section 172.13). They define all educational school personnel to include "teachers, teacher aides, administrators, supervisors, and other specialized educational personnel" (Sections 172.3.).

Involvement of Administrators, Supervisors, and Specialized Educational Personnel in Planning

The involvement of the various levels of LEA personnel in the planning varied considerably. Superintendents in three of the study sites participated only on the policy board; their roles were passive and primarily devoted to approving and monitoring the board's work. One site, however, had a very active superintendent. That superintendent initiated monthly meetings of a committee composed of the district office staff, project school principals, and the Teacher Corps staff in order to increase communication between LEA and Teacher Corps staffs and to avoid duplication of efforts. This committee succeeded on both counts. For example, the district was directed to develop a reading program for all schools. The district reading coordinator, knowing of the Teacher Corps staff members' expertise in reading, called upon two of them for help.

Principals in all study sites, on the other hand, reported being very active in preparing proposals and in the initial start-up of the project. However, they did no planning for their own needs and participated minimally in the teachers' planning. They attended regional meetings of Teacher Corps principals and served on policy boards or other projectwide planning groups. Most of the principals felt that their role was primarily supportive; they encouraged teacher participation in Teacher Corps activities but seldom took an active part in them. There was unanimous praise for a Teacher Corps Washington-sponsored conference for school principals in the early spring of the planning year. Some principals who did not participate in the development of a proposal or who had not been involved in previous Teacher Corps projects felt that the conference helped them to clearly understand their role in the local projects.

Vehicles for teacher participation varied widely from one site to another. Task forces, exclusive teacher planning groups, and thematic planning groups (i.e., multicultural education) were organized early in the project. Teacher Corps staff members often organized and coordinated the planning groups. Community and parents were also frequently involved in these planning groups, the IHE faculty less so. In one site the Teacher Corps staff chose to have teachers plan separately at each school. In this project there was a proliferation of planning groups. However, one Teacher Corps facilitator was present during all the teacher planning in this site.

Directors were present at planning meetings, which planned around the results of elaborate needs assessments conducted in the participating feeder schools. Although teacher participation was publicly solicited at faculty meetings, actual participation was meager. Teachers in two sites voiced skepticism and took a wait-and-see attitude toward Teacher Corps in general and toward the planning process in particular. Directors and Teacher Corps staff members were open and sincere in their efforts to organize the planning products into program components for the development year. Nonetheless, these groups represented the only opportunities for teachers to be active in the collaboration process, unless the policy board chose to include teacher representatives as members.

Using the needs assessments, the planning groups suggested several in-service activities and in-service need areas for the Teacher Corps staff to develop. These planning products were often described in detail in the continuation proposals submitted to Teacher Corps Washington in the spring of the planning year. In one site, because of internal management problems, the planning groups produced few tangible results for program development. At two sites long after the culmination of the planning, some task force members complained of not knowing what Teacher Corps was all about.

Planning Outcomes

Several in-service workshop courses resulted from these planning activities. In one site, a consultant conducted a 3-day workshop on cooperative planning groups. Teachers from all three feeder schools attended and were introduced to systematic planning for classroom instruction (identifying needs, developing objectives, and assessing student progress on objectives). In another site a workshop was planned and implemented on "Test Besting," where teachers were taught how to teach test-taking skills to students. This was prompted by the state's emphasis on basic skill improvement and use of competency exams. Another site planned and implemented a workshop on teaching basic skills in the content area. Other workshop topics included student discipline, multicultural reading materials, kindergarten assessment, and physical education-music curriculum development. Attendance ranged from small to unexpectedly large crowds. Interns, principals, community people, and teachers often comprised the

audience. These workshops and short-range courses were mostly developed in response to areas of immediate or previously identified needs. Many focused on long-standing needs in the district and were well-accepted by the participating school. Many of the long-range teacher education needs were planned and organized at the IHE and are described next.

IHE Involvement in Planning

The Mandate

The Rules and Regulations state that

> . . . each project must include at least one institution of higher education that offers academic course work at the graduate level leading to a graduate degree in the field of education, unless none of the teacher/interns has a bachelor's degree [Section 172.11].

Two of the four overriding purposes of Teacher Corps relate directly to the IHEs. First, Teacher Corps programs should "encourage colleges and universities to broaden their programs of teacher preparation"; and second, they should "encourage institutions of higher education and local educational agencies to improve programs of training and retraining teachers, teacher aides, and other educational personnel" (Section 172.2).

The Teacher Corps mandate to broaden teacher preparation programs is translated at the program level into three main teacher preparation areas:

- Field-based and community-based education
- Multicultural education
- Combining in-service and preservice training.

With the exception of multicultural education, all of the sites in this study proposed major activities in these areas. Their approach was two-pronged. The projects needed to help teachers and interns meet state and university requirements for certification and master's degrees and the IHE also needed to respond to teacher-initiated requests for courses. Sometimes the two needs coincided; other times they diverged. Interns for the most part were counseled to take the IHE's regular offerings for certification but with one modification--their practice teaching course work was to be replaced by their field activities in each site.

COLLABORATION: IT'S EASIER WHEN WE DO IT TOGETHER

What do you do when you are the district reading specialist and the superintendent calls for a comprehensive reading plan for each elementary school in your district, and it must be developed within a matter of weeks? Teachers and principals are calling for help, and you don't know where to start or where to turn for help. What about the professors at State who are working with Teacher Corps? They are active in the schools and seem to be knowledgeable about reading.

You call them and they are happy to help. In fact, they ask if you want to get together today. They come to the district office and after several hours of talking and planning, you have a skeleton for a plan on paper, and have set a date for tomorrow to meet with the teachers and principals at the Teacher Corps elementary schools.

The teachers and principals are happy with tentative plans, and with their input you and the State professors work out a plan to submit to the superintendent.

Good news! The superintendent said the plans were among the best he received. Three heads prove to be better than one. You are glad you attended all those Teacher Corps meetings and got to know the State professors; they can be a real asset sometimes.

Field- and Community-Based Education

During the planning year each project determined the number of teachers interested in earning master's degrees through the IHE's teacher preparation program. In one site, because the state required teachers to attend a highly specified course that they needed in order to retain their certification, another group of teachers were also recruited. As a result, the IHE offered this state mandated course as well as the courses required for the master's degree sequence.

With the exception of one site, the concept of field-based teacher education was loosely translated to mean relocating long-standing courses from the university campus to the school grounds. When this occurred, very little of the course content changed. However, one site director translated field-based teacher education into something different and more dynamic. Using a variety of teacher-dominated planning groups, this director developed an extensive array of courses and workshops around teacher-identified needs. In the project listing are a number of community agencies that were already heavily involved in the project schools. In this sense field-based education was dominated by the classroom, instructional, and curricular needs identified by the teachers. The main focus seemed to have been on increasing the teachers' problem-solving capacity.

Combining In-service and Preservice Training

In all of the sites, that part of the mandate requiring the merging of in-service and preservice training was largely realized by having interns attend in-service courses with the regular classroom teachers. In one site, the director managed to involve a large number of IHE faculty on an ad hoc or individual basis. He skillfully connected individual faculty members with teacher planning groups or some other aspect of the planning by:

- Paying for time spent on planning, i.e., summer salaries, consultant fees, mini grants.
- Involving faculty in their own research or specialty areas.
- Aligning planning activity with research and publishing possibilities.

At this site, for instance, Teacher Corps was partially responsible for the IHE's establishing an "Office of Rural Education." The director charged the IHE group to study and make recommendations for an appropriate governance and delivery system for field-based training activities in nearby rural districts that had little access to the physical facilities of the university.

In many of the sites the planning activities that took place at the IHEs seemed to depend entirely on two factors: a creative project director and a supportive dean who encouraged each director to broaden the IHE's teacher education programs within the mandate of Teacher Corps.

The least productive IHE planning seemed to occur when these two factors were lacking. However, in one site the LEA-dominated project staff asserted control over course offerings and the IHE simply responded to their dictates.

Project Staffing and Management

Each of the projects developed channels for involving the IHE, LEA, and community council in the planning. The Teacher Corps staff in each project was the primary channel.

The Mandate

The Rules and Regulations contain few stipulations concerning staff organization. Section 172.110 describes the management plan required for each project. Section 172.111 stipulates that every project must have a project director, and Section 172.40 requires that a team leader and four teacher-interns be hired during the development year. The Rules and Regulations give no guidelines on how to organize an administrative staff other than to state that they "must be hired from the grantees' regular employees whenever possible," and that the staff must be "broadly representative of the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the community served by the project" (Section 172.113).

Project Director

It appears as though the project director is the key, pivotal person in the local projects. In two of the sites, both directors had previous experience with other Teacher Corps projects or with similar, field-based teacher education activities. In all the sites, the director was heavily involved in the development of the proposal and, thus, felt a real sense of commitment to the project. In all but one site the directors were faculty members at the IHE.

An inordinate amount of time was spent on monitoring management plans, supervising and educating staff members, coordinating the various planning groups, and managing the paper flow. Directors complained often about having to leave the project site to attend various meetings.

All of the directors viewed themselves in similar ways: They had to ensure diverse participation throughout the project, monitor and coordinate the various vehicles for collaboration, and be sure the project was meeting its proposed objectives. All directors spent much time ensuring that the principal actors in the IHE and LEA operated under pleasant conditions that were conducive to working. As noted previously, it was usually the director who initially set the collaborative process in action and who was often responsible for arranging the first face-to-face meetings between superintendents and deans. Directors frequently found time to participate in the actual planning. All the directors were keenly aware of the four basic outcomes and how the various program components were contributing to them. They often used mandate outcomes as a rationale for conducting particular activities in the project.

WE'LL TALK ABOUT IT WHEN I GET BACK

Project directors spend a great deal of time away from their projects attending Teacher Corps sponsored conferences. Sometimes the meetings were productive and offered a good chance for directors to get together with their colleagues. Other times, however, they were poorly planned and took directors away from the project at inopportune times. For example, a project director was at a three day meeting in mid-May and had to leave the following problems and processes:

- The Policy Board selected a team leader the day before the meeting and the announcement had to be made.
- A petition began circulating at the high school to withdraw from Teacher Corps.
- 280 applications for the intern positions were received and needed screening and sorting.
- Final budget agreements had to be made for the coming year.
- The high school submitted a request for about $140,000 for their inservice activities.
- The community coordinator submitted her resignation to the Policy Board and initial plans to replace her had to be formulated.
- The schools were preparing to close for the summer and teachers needed to be contacted about the inservice offerings in the fall.

Teacher Corps directors, for the most part, were viewed as having a high status in both the IHE and LEA setting. In one site, for instance, the directorship was vacated before the end of the first year. The IHE advertised the position nationally and locally and received more than 250 applications. In sum, the projects relied heavily on the directors for making decisions and setting policy for the entire project.

Staff, Team Leaders, and Interns

Usually, other Teacher Corps staff persons were written into the proposal and played an important supportive role to the director as the project was being developed. They, like directors, were often experienced with other Teacher Corps projects. For the most part, few of these staff persons had university appointments and, thus, played rather marginal roles in IHE affairs. In the one project where staff had the least amount of experience with Teacher Corps or field-based activities, a complete turnover of staff occurred. Most staff members were given highly specified sets of tasks whose progress was monitored at regular staff meetings. They also saw their primary mission as one of ensuring that the four program outcomes were reflected in the planning activities.

Midway through the planning year, the project staff members invited applicants to apply for the team leader position and later reviewed applicants for the intern positions. Local classroom teachers were hired as team leaders in all the sites; most were housed in the schools and worked closely with the intern group in coordinating their activities, i.e., setting up school and classroom visits, acting as liaison between project and teachers, scheduling and planning community activities, and facilitating the interns' group experiences and activities. Most interns under these conditions had to be assigned a faculty advisor from the IHE. Team leaders for the most part did not see their roles extending much beyond coordinating the intern groups; because they had entered the projects late, their roles were less influential. It also appears that the CMTI training resulted in strong group feelings among the interns and their team leader. In functioning as a group, rather than as individuals, the team leader and interns furthered their isolation from the mainstream of the projects.

Summary

It appears as though the basic mandate for establishing a rather elaborate collaborative structure for planning was realized. In a sense, if the Rules and Regulations constitute an experiment, we must conclude that it was successful in the sites we studied. In each of the sites Teacher Corps' collaborative structure represented the only formal organization encouraging collaborative planning among the three major groups: the LEA, IHE, and the community. So while the collaborative structure created complex management problems, it was also highly visible in each of the sites, and while actual participation may have been low for some groups, for the first time many participants felt a sense of accomplishment.

Principals, deans, and superintendents for the most part played passive roles in the collaborative process. IHE faculty members seemed to need incentives paralleling their research and publication interests before participating in the collaborative planning. Providing them with such incentives less often resulted in their taking a passive, noncommital stance toward Teacher Corps.

The rural councils we studied were extremely effective in planning; a wide variety of activities were planned and implemented. These councils were also supported by two vigorous, competent, community development specialists. The combination of a competent staff person and the rural setting seemed to have produced an active, productive council.

In terms of the overall project, our observations, interviews, and cross-site analysis continuously point to the project director as an important link in drawing the diverse Teacher Corps project parts together to successfully implement the Teacher Corps mandate. Success, however, is a difficult state to capture, even with as open a data collection method as we used. We defined successful project activities as those that implemented the outcomes stipulated by the mandate or those that satisfied the participants and were praised by them. Using this definition, we can conclude that certain patterns seemed to have persisted over time, across and within projects. These patterns allow us to state which factors seem associated with a "successful" project. Table 2 represents these elements.

Table 2

SUMMARY OF COLLABORATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE FOUR STUDY SITES

Descriptive Elements	Site I	Site II	Site III	Site IV
1. Population	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
2. Commitment to collaboration	Low	Low	Modest	High
3. Goals for collaboration	Stay on schedule	Accomplish predetermined goals	Implement plans developed independently	Implement plans developed jointly
4. Director's or Community Coordinator's role	Administration	Follower	Leader	Organizer
5. Participants' role	Follow directions	Unclear	Plan independently	Plan jointly
6. Overall results	Modest accomplishment	Few accomplishments	High Level of accomplishment	High Level of accomplishment
7. Level of satisfaction	Low	Low	High	High

High levels of satisfaction and commitment to the collaborative process as shown on the chart seem to be associated with the director's role--he/she either leads the Council or gives clear organizational direction; low commitment on the other hand seems to be associated with unclear leadership on the part of the director or community coordinator. In Sites III and IV, as their accomplishments became known it appears to have reinforced their commitment to and satisfaction with the overall collaborative process.

V CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General Conclusions

The real value of this report rests with the insights gained from the case studies, especially the documentation of implementation problems associated with the particular type of educational reform that characterizes Teacher Corps. The presence of Teacher Corps in the schools and communities we studied acted as a catalyst for raising the issues of field-based preservice and in-service education, multicultural education, and community participation in educational planning. Many of these activities would not exist without Teacher Corps.

We were able to draw several conclusions from the case studies. One concerns the Teacher Corps staff. We spent hours talking to them and observing them as they carried out their tasks under the various Teacher Corps mandates. Every person we met showed a strong sense of commitment and dedication to the underlying values and norms of Teacher Corps. We observed no instance of willful disregard for the project's aims and goals. For the most part, Teacher Corps staff members were sincere, people who worked long hours under conditions that other professionals might not have tolerated. This dedication seems to bind and create the "Teacher Corps -family" that we so often heard about during our initial site visits. We think that this represents Teacher Corps' greatest strength--the people committed to its ideals.

We also saw a significant impact of Teacher Corps on teacher education. We had contracted to study two highly specific and relatively new components of Teacher Corps--collaboration and multicultural education--but we conclude that one of the real strengths of Teacher Corps seems to be the subtle ways in which the local projects are affecting the general field of in-service teacher education. Again we are impressed that the thorniest and most difficult teacher education problems are being tackled by the local Teacher Corps programs. We also concluded that some of the impediments to implementation of field investigations seem to be indigenous to any social system where change is being imposed.

Because we have focused on specific implementation components in this volume, another major conclusion we reached may not be obvious. For the most part, Teacher Corps is meeting the expectations of its mandate. If the mandate for multicultural education is an exception, it may be related to the fact that the Rules and Regulations mention the term multicultural education once; it is enmeshed and lost in a sea of other mandates stated in more emphatic and explicit terms. Thus, it is easy for LEAs to overlook the call for multicultural education and it is easy for Teacher Corps funding officers to overlook the omission, as they oversee 132 projects nationwide.*

A final conclusion concerns the complexity of the local projects. Directing a local Teacher Corps project is a complicated, time-consuming enterprise. The numerous groups of participants--the feeder school systems, the LEAs, the IHEs, the teachers, and community members--account for demands that often exceed the capacity of the local staffs to meet them. Many of the implementation impediments we observed and documented were by-products of imposing a complex programmatic structure upon two already complex entities, the LEAs and the IHEs. More specific programmatic conclusions and recommendations are discussed below.

The Context for Recommendations

We mentioned earlier that case studies contain inherent limitations for stating generalizable conclusions. However, throughout the study we were diligent in controlling our biases; we made every possible effort to get the participants to personally explain why they did what they did, why the projects proceeded as they did, and how they interpreted the dynamics we chose to focus on. To a large degree we think this report represents the participants' views and perceptions. In this context, the recommendations we make in this report emerged from the field, not from our analytical scheme or predetermined hypotheses.

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* Each funded Teacher Corps grant is written according to the specifications of the Rules and Regulations. In reviewing proposals for sample selection, we found that some project proposals were funded, but contained no multicultural education sections. Thus, if the funded proposal essentially represents a contractual program approach and some projects did not propose to develop multicultural components, they were not obliged to do so.

However, it must be remembered that our approach to data collection did play a role in helping to identify the issues. The frequent staff debriefings and the compilation of data on a cross-site basis allowed us to identify trends, patterns, and relationships throughout the study, across sites, and within sites. Wherever feasible, we verified that these patterns and relationships were real by having the participants validate them for us. These patterns may not be characteristic to the same extent across all 132 Teacher Corps projects, but they are valid in the four sites of this study.

A third concern is the state of the art of case study methodology used as a policy study or program evaluation tool. We applied rigorous ethnographic methods to this study, having modified what we learned from other ethnographic research projects. Because of the controls we imposed, the case studies in this report are rich in the contextual matter that can be more extensively studied in other sites. They can also be used to generate hypotheses to guide quantitative surveys. Policy and program recommendations are stronger if tracked over longer periods and with larger samples. In this context, we present specific conclusions and recommendations.

Multicultural Education

Conclusion I

With the exception of one site, the Teacher Corps effort at developing a multicultural education program was often done without help or commitments from other LEA or IHE personnel. Usually, only one Teacher Corps staff person was involved. The commitment of resources to develop multicultural education seemed lacking in most of the sites.

Recommendation I: Create a Locally Based Commitment to Multicultural Education.

Because Teacher Corps acts as a catalyst for developing multicultural education in the local projects, more effort should be placed on garnering a local commitment to planning, developing, and implementing multicultural education. It appears as though this can be accomplished in several ways:

- Develop more explicit multicultural education guidelines for both the IHEs and LEAs in the funded proposals.

- Monitor and review these plans along with other components of the project's management plan.
- Require that a multicultural education needs assessment be conducted in both the LEA and IHE; this should be done during the planning year and the results should be included in the management plan of the continuation proposals.

Conclusion II

In the projects we studied, the participants feel that there is little evidence of a real commitment to multicultural education from the Teacher Corps Washington office. This conclusion is based on several factors. First, there has been little or no monitoring at the project level to ensure that projects comply with the multicultural education mandate. Second, guidance supplied by the Washington office is given through consultants and through conferences and meetings that do not help local projects implement programs. Third, participants feel that program specialists do not have a thorough understanding of multicultural education. Fourth, the overreliance on consultants to define multicultural education does little to encourage the local project to develop site-specific multicultural education program components. Instead, the idea that there should be a standardized, prepackaged multicultural education program in the project schools is perpetuated.

Recommendation II: Increase Teacher Corps Washington Leadership in Multicultural Education.

- The Washington office should explicity communicate that it sees multiclutural education as a high priority for local program development.
- Projects should be monitored more closely to ensure compliance with the multicultural mandate.
- Program specialists should avail themselves of the Corps Member Training Institute (CMTI) training for team leaders and interns.

Conclusion III

Because of their CMTI training, the team leaders and interns often represent the most knowledgeable source of multicultural education available to the local project. For the sites we studied, this resource was greatly

underutilized. The team leaders and interns entered the projects late and, therefore, often seemed isolated from the mainstream of the project's activities.

Recommendation III: Team Leaders and Interns Should be Utilized as In-house Multicultural Education Resources

- Interns are required to have a community-based component in their training, and this seems to be a logical point in the local project to develop multicultural education programs.
- The intern teaching component can also be used for incorporating the multicultural education concept. This can be done in concert with the cooperating teacher and assures that some level of classroom activity will be developed for multicultural education.

Conclusion IV

In all of the study sites, the project director represents the strongest force for influencing reform and introducing new ideas to the university and the school district. However, most directors we observed and talked to seemed frustrated at not being able to exert this kind of leadership in the project. Their most common complaint concerned the diverse demands placed on them as a manager of a complex, multifaceted project. In reaction to this, it seems as though the project directors overrelied on outside consultants to infuse the projects with new ideas or conceptual definitions. In addition, the project directors were not given thorough training in multicultural education.

Recommendation IV: Project Leaders Should Exert More Intellectual Leadership in Multicultural Education

This can be accomplished in several ways:

- Teacher Corps should organize an extensive multicultural education training session for project directors that parallels the one offered to team leaders and interns.
- Ways of reducing the complexities of management for local directors should be investigated; this may allow the project directors to exert more leadership in multicultural education program development.
- Project directors should rely less on outside consultants to define or conceptualize multicultural education for the local projects. This would encourage directors to develop multicultural education

more adapted to the local conditions of the schools, communities, and colleges.

Conclusion V

The most serious impediment to the development of multicultural education programs in the sites we studied was the participants' misunderstanding of the goals and objectives of multicultural education. Of the participants we interviewed and observed, it seems as though no one--from the Washington staff to the local project staff--has a thorough understanding of the conceptual basis of multicultural education. This limits their effectiveness in developing and implementing multicultural education program components. The local projects must overcome the strong resistance to multicultural education that results from the belief that multicultural education is an "add on," which is based on a misunderstanding of its purpose, ignorance of its goals, or racial-ethnic prejudices.

Recommendation V: Integrate Multicultural Education Components Throughout All Program Components

Local program developers should be required to provide a multicultural component with every phase of planned activity. An integrated program approach would greatly alter the perception of multicultural education as an isolated venture being imposed on the projects.

Collaboration

Community Councils

Conclusion VI

With the exception of one council community resources for planning projectwide activities were rarely tapped. In these cases the community residents themselves represented the greatest source of untapped positive energy and commitment. Generally, the community councils were burdened by the bureaucratic rituals of rules and regulations, needs assessments, management planning, and paper work, and they felt some uncertainties about their roles. At times the councils seemed overly concerned with budgetary matters. These activities frequently diverted the council from their potentially greatest role: developing and collaborating in the development of

community-based educational programs. In addition, some community council members expressed disappointment and frustration with the formality (observance of parliamentary procedures) with which meetings and tasks were carried out.

For the most part, opportunities for the community to interact on a face-to-face basis with teachers, deans, superintendents, and IHE faculty were limited to the community chairperson's participation on the policy board. While planning groups often included communitywide membership, attendance and participation at them were sporadic and not as consistent as the attendance and participation at council meetings.

Recommendation VI

Effort should be focused on reducing the amount of paper work a newly elected council is required to do, and there should be an attempt to reduce the formal atmosphere of community council meetings.

Budget matters should be clearly stated early in the project; spending limits, spending priorities, and budget allocation procedures should be clearly understood by all council members.

Consideration should be given to expanding the exofficio membership of the council to include teachers, IHE faculty and LEA administrators so that there is more face-to-face contact among community council members, the LEA, and IHE participants.

Policy Board - Planning Groups

Conclusion VII

Policy boards in the four sites ran smoothly because they had a clear set of responsibilities. Most meetings were handled in a formal, business-like manner. Policy board members knew they were responsible for a limited number of tasks: setting policy, hiring staff, and approving the budget. In several sites, the dean and superintendent began to share their expertise outside the context of the policy board. They began building a collegial relationship that has the potential of lasting beyond the Teacher Corps cycle. All 3 policy board participants learned that, beneath differences in titles and education levels, they share common goals and concerns.

As a final decision-making body, policy boards must occasionally make controversial decisions. The board members need to consider the long-term interests of the project over short-term concerns.

The planning groups met the basic intent of the regulations, i.e., the working structure for collaborative planning was set in place and collaborative planning was in operation. The quality of that planning depended on several factors. Collaborative planning would most likely not exist in any of these communities without the presence of Teacher Corps. High productivity seems to be associated with matching the content of the planning group with the specialty area of the Teacher Corps staff member or group facilitator. In those sites where planning groups had problems, there was a noticeable lack of IHE faculty participation in the planning groups. Groups with a clear conception of the purposes of planning and a grasp of the Teacher Corps mandate did not need an entire year for planning. However, groups without a clear notion of the planning mandate seemed to have floundered; late into the planning year these groups still had not grasped the basic purposes of Teacher Corps. The lag between the completion of a planning task and the actual implementation of proposed activities frustrated some participants. Gaining concensus within a diverse planning group was most difficult. Thus, the planning year may, as in one site, produce long lists of needs and proposed activities but not enough project power to carry them out.

Recommendation VII

Teacher Corps staff should convene planning groups, community council, and policy board members early in the project and clearly delineate roles, responsibilities, and budget limitations.

Community councils and planning groups should be given small budgets to finance planning activities.

Planning groups should be encouraged to tap community councils to plan community-based education programs as mandated by the Rules and Regulations.

Whenever possible the content of the planning group should be matched with the specialty area of a Teacher Corps staff member or with the speciality of the group facilitator.

Consideration should be given to reducing the length of the planning year to permit participants to begin activities before the planning year ends.

Early in the project, directors and staff members should give serious consideration to creating faculty incentives for participating in the planning process, such as opportunities for research and/or publication.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Protocol no: DVC-04

Name of Observer: Deslonde

Dates of Observation: April 22-25, 1979

Site of Observations: Martinsville/Greensberg

TOPICAL INDEX

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003---022	Teacher Advisory Board
022--- 31	Decisionmaking at building level
031---043	Assessment of retreat
043---058	Meeting with Dean and Elementary Education Department Chairperson on involving other university departments in responding to Greensberg School District needs.
058---074	Introduce school district needs to Liberal Arts faculty, bring them in as consultants to the district.
074---102	Dean's project on validation suggested as an approach.
102---125	Need for specific competencies for Multicultural Education and Exceptionality.
125---144	No integration across content areas of School of Professional studies. Teacher Corps activities would require integration of interests in the school.
144---180	Academic freedom issues discussed in light of Teacher Corps goals.
180---208	Importance of Multicultural Education Exceptionality--Crossover of Dean's project with Teacher Corps activities
208---239	Need for faculty commitment.
239---250	Program Specialist comment on organizing the schools.
250---288	Planning groups in conflict--University as a broker for technical assistant.
288---315	Collaborative structure: separate planning group in isolation and sometimes in conflict.

Name of Researcher: J. Deslonde
Date of Observation: February 20-23, 1979
Subject of Observation: Continued Initial Observations
Site of Observation: Chattsworth, Crawford County, and Bellaire Heights High School

Center influence on Crawford college's graduate program and Federal funds

When asked about the recent meeting with the Dean Callahan took this as an opportunity to let me know that the Bellaire Education Center was the prime motivator behind Crawford College's graduate program. "We're responsible for the graduate program at Crawford College...We went to the commissioner of Higher Education in the State Department...we sat it up and got approval." Callahan, again implied that the center has political clout at the state level and can act as a mediator for the college. In this respect Callahan treats the college president the same as the other county superintendents. When asked to respond to this impression, he stated, "Yes, that's true and everyone gets some of the action, however, the president can't vote on our board, though. That's reserved only for the superintendents." Callahan then continued to describe the relationship with the college by talking about the benefits the college has obtained, "We graduated 100 aides from the college when we had the COP* program." He further stated that IHE enrollments are dropping. "We are responsible for the first Federal programs the college ever had. Most of their graduate students are teachers, you know. We got then an EPDA grant."

Callahan feels very positive toward the Dean. "The Dean and I spent several hours together recently--he said he needs us to help him bring the faculty around.. ..We now have the resources (Teacher Corps) to change Teacher Education." Callahan, stopping to think, stated "...the planning year has been the toughest yet. We got the faculty ready at Crawford College, we've had to do a lot of wining and dining...the Dean takes care of his people, we'll take care of ours.

Problem of collaboration identified

Callahan then discussed the recent brainstorming meeting with the Dean. He though it was very successful. The group identified 20 problem statements which needed solving in order to enhance the collaborative process with each other. These are:

1. Resistance to perform inservice training
2. Resistance to accept inservice training
3. Feelings of inability to perform tasks
4. Inconsistency of expectations in regard to training
5. Lack of collaboration in planning inservice

* Career Opportunity Program

Protocol Number DNC-02

Analysis and Interpretation

This field report is interesting from several aspects. Key views on Multicultural Education are made explicit , the collaborative "style" of this project is emerging and several unique characteristics on rural education are apparent and seem. contrary to other writings on rural education.

Multicultural Education

Race Relations

The Teacher Corps staff members uniformly agree that the Crawford County teachers have the wrong impression of Multicultural Education. They go on to state that the teachers resolve everything to a question (or questions) of race. Nelson even believes that these teachers are "still in the 1950s" because they feel that race relations should be the primary concern of Multicultural Education. I am not so sure that this is an outdated or wrong impression. Most writings on the topic of Multicultural Education agree with the Crawford County teachers. For instance, Weinberg (1977 p. 17) states:

> ...a comprehensive study of racism - which must form a central part of multicultural education must be a reciprocal exploration of majority and minority ... the American public school long ago was forced into the service of prevailing racial conceptions. For decades, in both North and South, outright exclusion of minority children and denigration of their cultures were standard practices. Today, whether by design or thoughtlessness, many of the practices still abound. A historical study can reveal some of their roots and thereby provide teachers with a more realistic understanding of the dimensions of the problems.

For Crawford County teachers, race relations are still very urgent issues. If a Multicultural Education program can not address these concerns, if a "historical study" of race relations in Crawford County can not speak to these concerns then it seems very unlikely that few other school activities will.

I am not so sure that even the Teacher Corps staff really believes in their own position. They, too, constantly tell me that race relations are still a volatile issue in Crawford County. The schools are predominately Black with massive flight to private, all-White schools, the school board is controlled by White parents with children in private schools, the superintendents are White, the land is owned by Whites, there is still subtle intimidation of registered voters by Whites and finally "no qualified or well prepared" Blacks can be found to appoint to leadership positions, is a partial list of race-related issues described to me by the Teacher Corps staff. On the other hand they have convinced me that race relations <u>are</u> the dominant reality in Crawford County schools.

I believe that the Teacher Corps staff has taken this position on Multicultural Education so as not to stir up controversy around the project. Callahan, the director, has flatly stated that there will always be a conservative choice when it comes to this type of issue. In their scheme of things it would be far easier and less controversial to address the Multicultural component to reading, discipline, the sports teams, or any other number of nonracial issues. It seems as though the staff has not even discussed ways of resolving this...

APPENDIX D

~~the~~ Dean's expectations for Teacher Corps

T-5
5-4

Without my asking, Dr. Sharp said, "My real concern is with the management of this project. I have set up a special committee of I.H.E. Staff to look at every aspect of this program. I want a complete review of every thing. There are some things that I see that I don't like. There are seven people from the University working in this program this summer. They all are White. We can't have this. I don't see enough multiculture emphasis. Communication must improve between Tom and the rest of the faculty out here. I plan to make some management changes and I plan to move with dispatch. I plan to codirect this project with Tom and redefine his role. Tom has had some serious problems with Mary and other members of his staff. I want to look into that. We must improve the collaboration efforts on all fronts. I plan to, during the next two weeks, to meet with all the key L.E.A. people involved with this project. The potential power of this program is tremendous and I plan to use it."

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